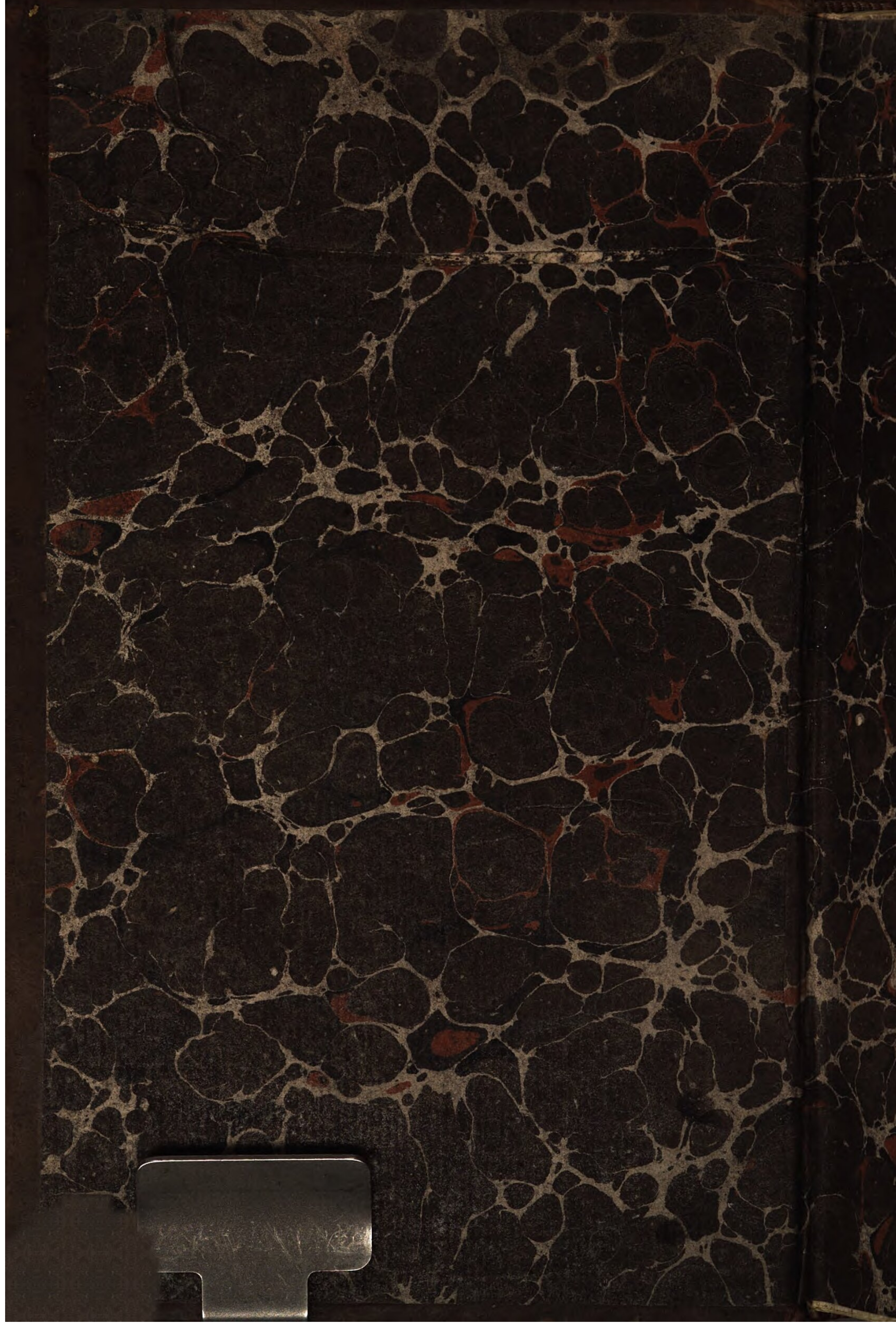
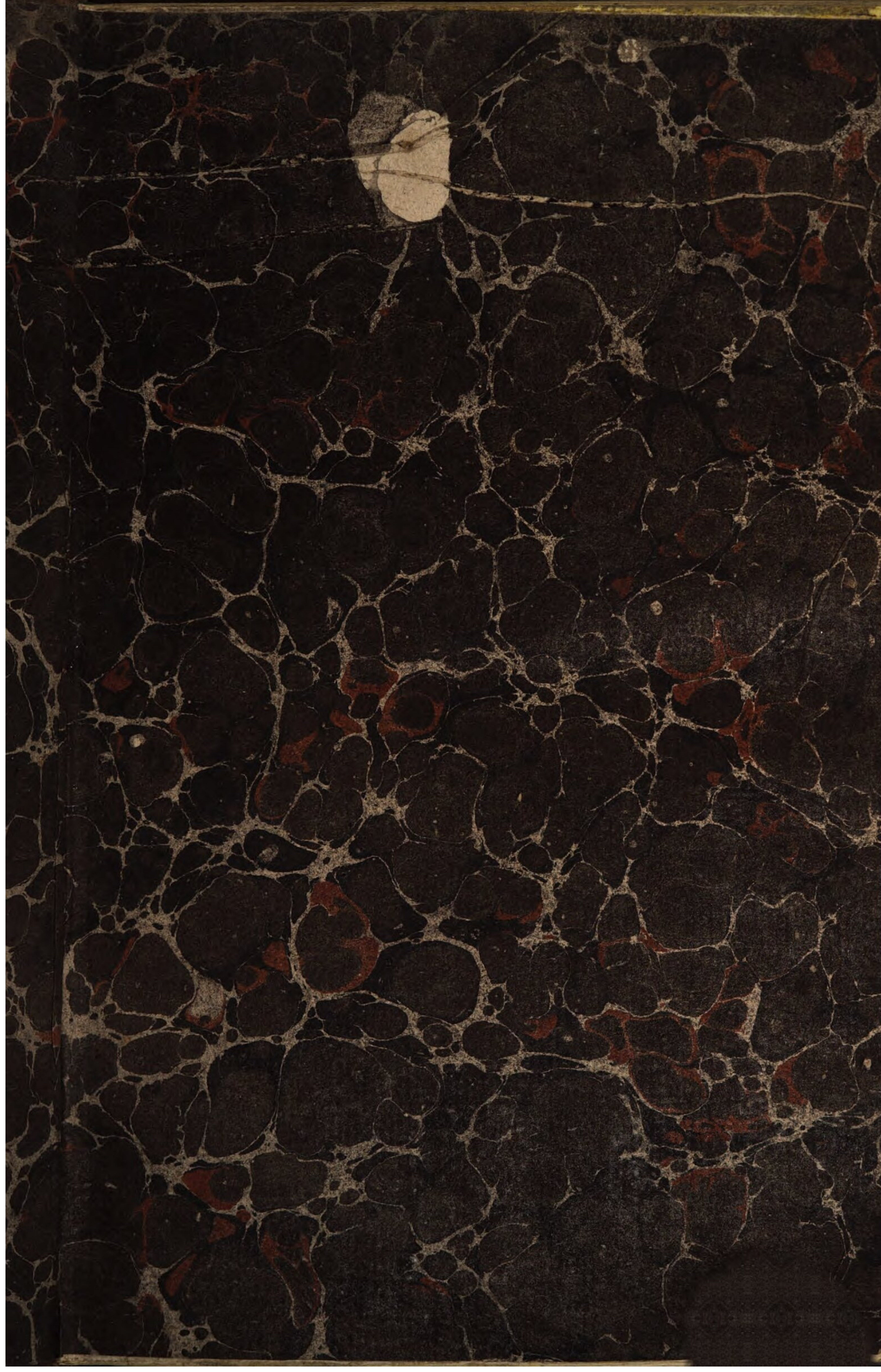






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M E M O I R S

OF THE COURT OF

A U G U S T U S.

Continued, and completed, from the original Papers of the late

THOMAS BLACKWELL, J. U. D.

PRINCIPAL OF MARISHAL COLLEGE, IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

By JOHN MILLS, Esq.

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M E M O I R S

O F T H E

COURT OF AUGUSTUS.

B O O K XIII.

ANTONY had not been long on Board of *Cleopatra's* Galley, when he observed that he was pursued by some of *Octavius's* light Ships; upon which he tacked about to face his Enemies, most of whom then fell back: but one, more impetuous than the Rest, still advancing, shook his Lance at him in a threatening Manner from off the Deck. ' *Who art thou* , cried the fugitive ' General to him, and why dost thou thus obstinately pursue me ? ' — ' *I am* , replied the other, ' fiercely. *Eutycles the Lacedemonian* , brought ' *hither by Cæsar's Fortune to revenge my Father's Death* '. However, the *Laconian*, instead of actually attacking *Antony*, turned about and fell upon another Galley, which he took, together with a Vessel richly laden with Plate and Furniture; and sailed away with his Prizes. *Antony* then returned to his former melancholy Posture, and continued so three Days, without seeing *Cleopatra*, till he arrived at the Promontory of *Tænarus*, where the Queen's Women, who were extremely well qualified for an Office of this Kind, reconciled them, and Things went on as before. At *Tænarus*

¹ His Father, by Name *Lachares*, had been sentenced to Death by *Antony*, for Robberies, and other Crimes.

he had an Account of the total Defeat of his Fleet: but believing his Legions still held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with them through *Macedon* into *Asia*, intending to renew the War there, and resolving, in the mean Time, to retire into *Africa*.

In the Midst of these Misfortunes, still preserving his wonted Magnificence and Generosity, he singled out one of his largest Ships, laden with a vast Treasure of Plate and Money, and gave it to his Friends, desiring them to share it among them, and take Care of themselves. They, for some Time, refused it with Tears in their Eyes, and begged to follow him: but he, after comforting them with the utmost Sweetness and good Nature, and thanking them for their Fidelity and Affection, insisted on their not involving themselves farther in his Misfortunes, and sent them away with Letters to *Theophilus*, Governor of *Corinth*, whom he entreated to conceal them till they should be able to make their Peace with *Cæsar*. He then went with *Cleopatra* to *Paretonium*, a Town of *Egypt*, the Frontier of *Cyrenaicum*, where they parted, the Queen proceeding to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* remaining behind, continually ruminating on his Misfortunes, without any other Company than *Aristocrates*, the Greek Orator, and his incomparable Friend *Lucilius*; — the same who feigned himself *Brutus* at *Philippi*.

Repeated Instances of Infidelity and Ingratitude, experienced from *Domitius*, *Dellius*, *Plancus*, *Herod*, and many others, had given *Antony* a Disgust to Mankind, which was now greatly

increased by the base Behaviour of *Pinarius Scarpus*. — I have Reason to believe that this *Scarpus* had been a very submissive Courtier'. — He was of the *Pinarian* Family, one of *Julius Cæsar*'s Grand-Nephews, and wrought himself so far into Favor as to be made Prefect of *Africa*, the bordering Province with *Egypt*, and be intrusted with the Troops that were designed for its Security in Case of Disorder. *Antony* sent to him; and *Scarpus*, not contented to refuse him Admittance, murdered his Messengers; sacrificing at once the Ties of Friendship and Law of Nations to his Hopes of Recompence from the Victor, to whose Lieutenant, *Gallus*, he delivered up *Cyrene* and his Troops. Some of the Soldiers, who testified their Displeasure at this Proceeding, met with the same Fate; at which *Antony* was so filled with Rage and Despair, that he rushed to his Sword, and would have put an End to his Life and his Sorrows together, had he not been prevented by *Aristocrates* and the faithful *Lucilius*, who then carried him into *Egypt*. — There he found *Cleopatra*, who plainly foresaw that the Forces of *Egypt* could not withstand the united

' There is a Medal struck by him (a) with the Head of *Jupiter Ammon*; and instead of the God's Name, ANTO. COS. III. IMP. IIII. On the Reverse, a Victory with a Garland; and before her ANTONIO. AUG. Behind, SCARPUS. IMP. It has been upon some small Achievement in *Africa* that he was saluted *Imperator*, when the Roman Honors turned cheap.

(a) *Ursini Famil. Rom. p. 214*

Power of the *Roman* Empire, busied in the singular and unheard-of Project of dragging her whole Fleet over the Isthmus of *Suez* into the *Red-Sea*, in Hopes of thereby saving herself in another World with all her Treasures, which now were immense: for the *Alexandrians*, who had long hated her, having vented their Discontent without Reserve during her Absence, she put several of their principal Men to Death, confiscated their Possessions, plundered those she left alive, and even pillaged the Temples. — Some of her Vessels were actually transported from one Sea to the other; but the *Arabians* having burnt them, *Antony*, who arrived at that Time, and believed that his Land-Army under *Canidius* was still faithful to him, persuaded her to abandon her Design, which was so full of Difficulties, and endeavour to defend the Avenues of *Egypt* by Sea and Land⁶.

Cleopatra, not yet despairing, and willing to try every Means to extricate herself from the Danger she was in, followed his Advice, and made all Sorts of Preparations for War; hoping at least that she should thereby, at all Events, certainly obtain the better Terms from *Octavius*. She also solicited foreign Assistance from every Prince that she thought would help her; and it was then that, to make up Matters with the King of the *Medes* in particular; she caused *Artabazes* King of *Armenia*, his Enemy, to be put to Death, and even sent him his Head.

⁶ *Dion. Cassius*, Lib. LI. p. 446. *Plut.* in *Anton.*

In the mean Time *Antony*, plunged in Melancholy, chagrined at every Thing he saw, having a still more gloomy Prospect before him, and meeting with nothing but reiterated Ingratitude and Infidelity from those who ought to have been most strongly attached to him, quitted the Town and all his Friends, and shut himself up in a small lone House, which he had ordered to be built in Haste upon a Mole in the Sea, near the *Pharos*⁷. There he passed some Time, refusing to see any one, and declaring, “ That he intended to imitate *Timon* the Misanthrope; that being ill treated, like that *Athenian*, by the Ingratitude and Perfidy of his Friends, he would, like him, renounce all Commerce with Mankind. ” — But he soon grew weary of this Way of Life, so little suited to his Character; and the same Chagrins which had made him recur to it, made him also abandon it. — *Canidius* arrived at *Alexandria*, to inform him in Person of the Revolt of the Army lately under his Command. He likewise received Advice, that *Didius*, whom he had made Governor of *Syria*, had declared against him: that *Herod* had submitted to *Octavius*: and that all the Kings and Princes to whom *Cleopatra* had applied, had refused to lend the least Assistance to the conquered Party. These disagreeable Tidings, coming

⁷ *Josephus*, in telling the Fable of *Aristæus*, calls the artificial Bank which joined the *Pharos* to the main Land, ἐπὶ τῷ ἁδίου χῶμα. It had a Bridge, under which the Sea passed, and is described by *Cæsar*, or rather *Hirtius*, *De Bello Alexandrino*.

almost all together, instead of sinking *Antony*, as might naturally enough have been expected, produced a quite contrary Effect. Losing all Hope, he disclaimed all Care; and seeing his Misfortunes too great to be remedied, resolved to make the most of his remaining Time. Accordingly, quitting his Retreat, he returned to *Cleopatra*, and gave himself up anew to Pleasures and Diversions. — It is difficult to tell why he took the Route of *Egypt* rather than to his noble Army under *Cani-dius*, which he did not think had deserted him, says *Plutarch*^{*}, till, after he had built his *Τίμονεῖον*, that General himself brought the News of the Loss of his Troops. — *Whom God has a Mind to destroy, said the Ancients, he deprives of Understanding.* — *Antony* seems to have been stupefied by a Series of Riot and Misfortunes, and, both in the Sea-Fight at *Actium* and after it, to have acted like a Man that little knew, or little cared what became of him.

Cleopatra's two eldest Sons, *Cæsario* and *Antyllus*, coming just at this Time to the proper Age of assuming the *manly* Robe, on which Occasion it was the Custom of the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, to celebrate this Advancement of their Children from Infancy to an Age when they began to be accounted a Part of the Republic, favored his Resolution to return to his former Course of Magnificence and Pleasure, by offering him an Opportunity to treat the *Alexandrians*; which he did for

^{*} In *Anton.*

several Days together, with Concerts, Balls, and Entertainments. He thought to strengthen his Interest, by showing two Successors, who were already in a Condition to supply his Place, and revenge his Cause. But this Precaution was of no Service to him, and soon proved fatal to the Youths.

Antony and *Cleopatra*, at the Beginning of this Acquaintance, had established a Society, under the Title of *The Inimitable Life*. They now abolished it, and formed a new one, which they called, *An Engagement to Die together*. Their friends subscribed their Names upon a Scroll, as if they were resolved to die with them; and they prepared themselves for Death, by all the Amusements capable of banishing it from their Thoughts, by Pleasures, extravagant Expenses, and excessive Intemperance.

Cleopatra, however, whilst she gave into every Diversion, was seriously employed in trying Means to procure herself a Death, equally quick and gentle, in Case she should at last be reduced to that Extremity. She made Trials of all Sorts of Poisons, and venomous Creatures, upon Criminals; and observing, for she was always present herself at these Experiments, that those which killed suddenly caused violent Pains, and that those which were more gentle in their Effect operated but slowly; she at last, as *Plutarch* informs us⁹, fixed upon the Asp, whose Sting, or Bite, immediately brings on a lethargic Heaviness, benumbs the

⁹ In *Anton*.

Senses, and occasions a speedy Death, without convulsive Agonies. This, therefore, she resolved upon, as her last Resource. — The Woman who had successively commanded the two Lords of the World, *Cæsar* and *Antony*; who had been entertained at *Rome*, by the Dictator, almost as a Goddess; who had received immense and incredible Donations from the Dictator; could not think of being dragged in Chains after the Victor's Chariot, and entering the City, like an humble Captive. She knew the hard Fate of triumphed Monarchs carried to *Rome*. — *Perſes*, *Syphax*, *Jugurtha*, *Aristobulus*, and *Artuafdes*, were before her Eyes; rather than undergo whose Treatment, any Extremity was eligible.

Octavius, after settling at *Samos* those Affairs which seemed to him to require the greatest Dispatch, went to *Athens*, to visit the Seat of Arts and Learning. Here he showed all Manner of Respect to the City, and was himself initiated in the Solemnities of both its Goddesses, *Minerva* and *Ceres*: but we have not the Name of the Doctor, or *Hierophant*, who performed the Ceremony.

These Initiations were over all *Greece*, whither they had come, either from *Egypt* or *Thrace*, with the famous *Orpheus*. There was a celebrated Order for Sanctity and Miracles in *Samothrace*, whither the *Lacedemonians*, when they were Masters of *Greece*, used to send a General yearly, because it had the Command of *Pontus*. — When *Antalcidas* went thither in that Quality, he was

invited to be a Partaker of the Ceremony, and consented: but being asked by the Priest, according to ancient and modern Manner, What was the worst Thing he ever did in his Life? he replied, "As for that, whatever it was, you need not inquire; since your God, doubtless, knows it".

— This I likewise take to be the Temple where *Cæsar's* Father, *Octavius*, consulted the Fate of his Son, and had for Answer, that the Youth whose Fortune he wanted to know would one Day be *Lord of the World*.

Athens was protected by the Fame of its former Achievements, while a free State, and by the Arts and Learning which still flourished in it. After its Fleets and Armies, which had awed and protected *Greece*, and been the Terror of the *Persian* Empire, were gone, the ingenious and learned Men who resorted to it, Historians and Philosophers, the Distributors of Fame, gave it a Consideration above the most powerful Cities under the Protection of *Rome*.

Upon his Arrival at this famous City, *Octavius*, far from maltreating the People of *Greece*, because they had assisted his Enemy, relieved their Misery by distributing among them the Provisions which remained after the War: an Assistance which came very opportunely; for this Country had been terribly plundered, not only of Riches, Men, and Cattle, but even of Food. — We may

⁶ Πλστ. Αποθρευμ. Λακωνικά.

⁷ Sueton. Octav. § 94.

judge of the Manner in which it had been harassed, from the Account which *Plutarch* gives, from his Great-Uncle, with Regard to the Town of *Chersonesus*, all the Inhabitants of which, he says, had been obliged to carry upon their Shoulders a certain Measure of Grain as far as *Anticyrus* on the Gulph of *Corinth*, and were even driven along with Whips. They had performed this once, and were ready to set out the second Time, when the News of *Antony's* Defeat arrived. This was the saving of that unfortunate Town. — *Antony's* Soldiers and Superintendants fled, and the Inhabitants shared the Corn.

From *Athens* *Octavius* passed into *Asia*, and was preparing to advance, when he received Advice, by repeated Couriers from *Agrippa*, that his Veterans at home threatened a Revolt, to prevent which his Presence was absolutely necessary. — It was then Winter; and *Octavius* had taken Possession of the Consulship for the fourth Time, in which he chose for his Colleague *Marcus Crassus*, Son of the famous *Crassus*, and, if we may believe *Dion*, formerly attached to the Party of *Sextus Pompey*, and afterwards to that of *Antony*.

Octavius immediately set Sail, notwithstanding the Dangers of the Seas in that tempestuous Season. He was twice overtaken by a Storm, in which he lost several of his Ships. That which he was in himself was shattered, and her Rudder broke to Pieces. However, he arrived safe at *Brindisi*, where he was met by all the Senators,

Knights, and Magistrates, excepting two Pretors, and two Tribunes of the People, who were ordered by a Decree to remain in the City, to keep it quiet, Innumerable Crowds of the People flocked to see their Master, the Conqueror of so many Enemies, and the last that remained of such a Number of Competitors. — The Mutineers were disconcerted by his Arrival, and a single Look of his, says *Tacitus**, spread Terror among those Legions to which he owed the Victory of *Actium*. However, as their Demands were reasonably founded, he partly complied with them; distributing Money, and allotting Lands to the oldest of the Soldiers: though neither the Circumstances of the Times, nor the Condition of his Finances allowed him to discharge all that was due to them. But in the mean Time, to make them sensible of his good Intentions, he exposed to public Sale all his own Effects, and those of his principal Friends, who readily offered their Assistance. — We may readily suppose that nobody had the Boldness to purchase any Thing: and this was what *Octavius* trusted to. — By this specious Conduct he shut the Mouths of the Murmurers, and reduced them to wait with Patience till he should be able to pay them all he had promised; which he afterwards did, by Means of the Treasures he brought from *Egypt* when he conquered that Country.

These Transactions took him up no more than thirty Days, at the End of which he returned to

* *Annal.* I. 42.

Asia with all Speed, to find his Enemy, and put the last Hand to his Victory by completing the Destruction of *Antony*. *Dion* says that he wanted in this Voyage to avoid the Promontories of *Peloponnesus*, near which he had before been overtaken by a Storm, and that, to this End, his Ships were transported over the Isthmus of *Corinth*. — They must have been very light indeed, if such an Operation could be executed easily. — But however that may have been, *Octavius* soon got back to *Asia*, from whence he advanced towards *Egypt* with his victorious Troops.

The Issue of the *Actian* War had already produced great Alterations in these Countries, and in all the Eastern Parts of the *Roman* Empire. They had now been governed by *Antony* for near twelve Years; during which Time, though he had often fleeced them very severely, and done many extravagant Things, yet the noble, open Manner in which he treated the chief Men of those Parts, and the splendid Use which he made of the vast Sums he had extorted from them, made them ready to forgive, and almost admire him. — The large Assistance they had given him when he was preparing for the War, was now like to cost them dear: Wherefore all the Princes depending upon the *Roman* Power went to wait on the Conqueror at *Rhodes*, and make their Peace with him. Among these, none could have less hope of Pardon than *Herod*, King of *Judea*. — His extraordinary Behaviour at this Juncture, and the high Place he held even to his Death in *Cæsar's* Friendship, make it proper to resume his Story.

Herod had received the Kingdom of *Judea* from *Antony*, whose Party he now forsook. — But he forsook it neither as a Traitor, nor a Coward: for, cruel as he was, his eminent Qualities had justly merited him the surname of the *Great*. He abandoned *Antony*, when he saw that *Antony* himself abandoned all Care of his own Interest³. — *Herod* was not at the Battle of *Actium*, being then engaged in a War in *Arabia*, which the ambitious *Cleopatra* had set him upon, in Hopes of his conquering that Country; after which she intended to get rid of him, and to possess herself of that Conquest, with his Kingdom of *Judea*, of both which *Antony* had made her a Present⁴. But *Herod* escaped her Snares, and returned victorious. — He had assisted *Antony* with Men, Money, and Provisions; and given him excellent Counsel, had he but had Resolution to follow it: for he advised him, in his Letters, to send away *Cleopatra*, if he intended to win the Battle; and, in Case he lost it, to retire into *Egypt*, and defend the Avenues to that Country. On his Return from *Arabia*, he went to *Antony*, and exhorted him not yet to despair; at the same Time, plainly telling him, that he had but one Way left to retrieve his Affairs, which was by getting rid of *Cleopatra*, who was the Cause of his Misfortunes, and who would not fail to sacrifice him to *Cæsar*:

³ *Plut.* in *Anton.*

⁴ *Josepb.* *Antiq.* Lib. XV. c. 10. & de *Bell. Judaic.* L. I. c. 15.

That he must therefore prevent her Designs, and, by her Death, secure to himself the Kingdom of *Egypt*, where, with the Troops he still had left, he might stop the Victor's Progress, and perhaps re-establish his Fortune. — *Herod* had a double View in giving this good Advice: that of serving a Friend, whom he esteemed; and that of being revenged on *Cleopatra* for her Intention to procure his Death in the *Arabian* War, and for her Endeavours to strip him of his Dominions. But *Antony*, unable to bear the Thought of parting with his dear *Cleopatra*, rejected every Measure of which that was made a Condition: Upon which *Herod*, plainly seeing that there could no longer be any Safety for him in the Party he had hitherto espoused, went to *Octavius* at *Rhodes*. — He appeared before him without a Diadem, but with all the other Marks of Royalty; and spoke to him like a King who came to offer him his Friendship, rather than as a Suppliant who begged his Favor. Frankly acknowledging his Attachment to *Antony*, with all that he had done, and wished to do for him; "*Cæsar*," said he^s, "it was *Antony* who
" made me King of the *Jews*: and I confess that
" I have employed in his Service that Fortune
" which I received from him. I will even own
" to you, that if the War against the *Arabians* had
" not hindered me, you would have seen me in
" Arms, fighting against you. However, I assisted
" him both with Troops and Provisions to the

^s *Joseph. Antiq. XV. 10. & de Bell. Jud. I. 15.*

“ utmost of my Power. Since his Misfortune at
“ *Actium*, I have not abandoned my Benefactor,
“ to whom, being no longer able to be an useful
“ Ally, I have discharged the Duty of a faithful
“ Counsellor, by representing to him, that the
“ only Way to retrieve his Affairs was to put
“ *Cleopatra* to Death; in which Case I offered him
“ my Wealth, my strong Places, my Troops,
“ and my Person, to help him to carry on the
“ War against you. — But *Cleopatra's* Charms
“ have made *Antony* deaf to all my Counsels; and
“ God, who has been pleased to give you the
“ Victory, has hindered him from hearkening to
“ my salutary Advice. I am therefore conquered
“ with *Antony*, and my Throne is overturned
“ together with his Fortune. — I present myself
“ before you, without any other Hope than in
“ my Virtue; expecting, however, that you will
“ consider what Friend I am, and not whom I
“ have served.” — *Octavius*, pleased with this
Speech, bid *Herod* resume his Diadem, granted
him his Friendship, and confirmed him in the
Possession of his Kingdom, to which he shortly
after added the States of *Zenodorus*.

After thus obtaining Pardon for himself, *Herod*
ventured to ask it for another. *Alexas*, or *Alexan-*
der of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, had held a distinguished
Rank at the Court of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. No
one of the *Greeks* was more powerful in his Time;
though he had not advanced himself by the fairest
Means. He had been one of *Cleopatra's* Tools
to captivate *Antony*, and destroy whatever good

Sentiments Reason might sometimes suggest to him in Favor of *Octavia*. *Antony*, who confided greatly in his Zeal and Talents, sent him from *Alexandria* to *Herod*, to try to keep that Prince steadfast in his Interest. But in vain do the Great expect Fidelity from the Ministers of their Pleasures. *Alexas* betrayed *Antony*, and remained with *Herod*. He even presumed so far upon the Protection of the *Jewish* Monarch, as to appear before *Octavius*: but his Expectations were soon disappointed. His Crimes were of a Nature not to be forgiven. *Octavius* ordered him to be loaded with Chains, and sent to his native City of *Laodicea*, where he was put to Death in the Sight of all his Countrymen.

Herod returned with Speed to his Dominions, in Order to be ready to receive *Octavius*, who was to pass through *Judea* in his Way to *Egypt*. He received him magnificently at *Ptolemais*, where he treated him, and a hundred and fifty of his Friends, in a most splendid Manner, and ordered Wine and Meat to be distributed to all the Soldiers. After this, he made *Octavius* a Present of eight hundred Talents; and sent Carriages with a Quantity of Water sufficient for the Use of the whole Army, to an arid Desert which the Troops were obliged to cross before they entered *Egypt*. These Things gave the *Romans* a high Idea of *Herod*, whose Soul, said they, was much greater than his Kingdom.

Plut.

While

While the Flames of Love were fanned by gaudy Expectations, *Cleopatra* had expressed the utmost Affection for *Antony*: But she never had such a Regard for him as was Proof against the Temptations of Vanity and Ambition: — Much less did his Adversity awaken in her Sentiments of real Tendernefs. Could she have found any Way to save herself without him, or even at his Expence, she certainly would have done it. In this View, she flattered herself with Hopes of making an Impression on *Octavius*. Though older than him, her Charms were not yet faded. She was not forty; and with the Dexterity she had acquired in the Art of Pleasing, after having captivated the Son of *Pompey*, the Great *Cæsar*, and *Antony*, she did not despair of adding to those Conquests that of her young Conqueror. — But she attacked a Man as artful as herself; thoroughly guarded against the Artifices of her Sex, who never could make him do a Thing contrary to his Interest. He saw through her Wiles, and dissembled with her in Return; intending to make Use of her to get rid of *Antony*; and afterwards to seize on her Kingdom, her Treasures, and her Person. This mutually double Design must not be lost Sight of in their future Proceedings.

Octavius entered *Egypt* on the Side of *Syria*, while *Cornelius Gallus*, who seems to have superseded *Scarpus* in his Command in *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, entered it on the other. In this Situation, *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried to appease *Octavius*, but without Success. They sent three different Embassies

to him, and even went so far as to offer to resign all, and lead a private Life in *Athens*, or any other Place, which he should appoint; only desiring that the Kingdom of *Egypt* should be given to *Cleopatra's* Children. Though *Cleopatra* joined her Ambassadors with *Antony's*, yet she gave them Instructions to treat separately for herself, and sent privately by them to *Octavius* a Sceptre, a Crown, and a Chair of Gold, as Tokens that she resigned all her Authority to him. *Octavius* accepted *Cleopatra's* Presents, and answered her Ambassadors, in public, That if the Queen of Egypt would lay down her Arms, and resign her Kingdom, he should then consider whether she ought to be treated with Rigor or Mercy: but privately he promised her Impunity, and even her Kingdom, in Case she would kill *Antony* *. As for *Antony's* Ambassadors, he would not so much as see them, though they carried him a great Quantity of Gold, and delivered up to him, as a Present from their Master, *Q. Turulius*, a Senator, one of *Cæsar's* Murderers, and *Antony's* most intimate Friends. *Octavius* received the Gold, and put *Turulius* to Death; but abated nothing of his Rigor against *Antony*, to whom he gave only discouraging or ambiguous Answers. *Cleopatra* too, on her Side, imposed upon *Antony*, and did all she could to deceive *Octavius*. *Antony* alone acted with Sincerity, and went so far as to offer to kill himself, provided the Queen might be spared: — While

* *Dio. Cass. Lib. LI. p. 447.*

she, at that very Time, was listening to Propositions for betraying him, and even of putting him to Death.

When I say that *Antony* acted with Sincerity, I mean only with Regard to *Cleopatra*; for his Conduct to *Octavius* was full of Treachery, if it be true, as *Dion Cassius* says, that the Ambassadors whom he sent to negotiate with him, carried large Sums destined to debauch his Troops, or even to bribe Villains to assassinate him.

Cleopatra's Intelligence with *Octavius* appeared by her Reception of his Freed-man *Thyrusus*, who had been artfully sent to persuade her, that her Charms had made a great Impression upon *Cæsar*. The Queen of *Egypt*, who wished for nothing so much, listened attentively to his Discourse, and had such long and frequent Interviews with *Thyrusus*, that *Antony*, whose open Heart scarce knew what Suspicion was, at Length, grew uneasy, seized the Negotiator, ordered him to be severely whipped, and then sent him back to his Master. Reflecting, however, on what he had done, he sent a Letter of Excuse the next Day to *Octavius*, telling him, that his Temper being soured and easily exasperated, through his Misfortunes, he could not suffer the Insolence of a Freed-man, who affected to affront him: "But," added he, "if you are offended, it is in your Power to be revenged. I deliver to you *Hipparchus*, whom you may treat in the same Manner as I have treated *Thyrusus*." — This Revenge would have been singular enough, and entirely in Favor of

Antony; for *Hipparchus* had deserted his Party and gone over to the fortunate Side.

Cleopatra, by so much the more capable of counterfeiting outward Appearances, as she felt nothing within, was alarmed at *Antony's* Suspicions, and spared neither Caresses, nor Marks of Deference and Submission to remove them. Her Birthday and that of *Antony* happened to be near one another, and fell about the Time I am now speaking of. She let her own pass unnoticed: but when *Antony's* came, she celebrated it with such extraordinary Magnificence and extravagant Profusion, that Numbers who came thither poor, were enriched for the Rest of their Lives.

In the mean Time, the Operations of the War went on, though somewhat slowly. *Gallus*, with the Legions which *Scarpus* had delivered up to him, took Possession of *Paretonium*, the Key of *Egypt* on the West Side, as *Pelusium* was on the East. *Antony*, whose Forces were still considerable both by Sea and Land, wanted to recover that important Place, and therefore marched against it; fondly imagining, that as soon as he should show himself to *Gallus's* Legions, who had formerly served under him, their Affection for their old General would be revived. But, fatally unfortunate in all his Enterprises, as soon as he approached the Walls, and began to exhort the Troops to return to their first Oath, *Gallus* ordered all the Trumpets to sound, in Order to hinder *Antony* from being heard, and then sallied out upon him and gained a small Advantage. — To add to

his Misfortunes , his Fleet entered the Port of *Paretonium*, which *Gallus* had left open on Purpose, but with Chains stretched below the Water, which, being raised up by the Help of Machines as soon as the Vessels were got in, blocked up the Mouth of the Harbour. The Fleet , thus caught , was presently attacked on all Sides, from the Sea , the Shore , and the Town. *Antony* lost a great many Vessels in this unequal Engagement, some being sunk , and others burnt , so that he saved but very few.

A set of Men , of mean Station , but whose Zeal and Fidelity does not the less deserve to be commended, might have been of Service to him at this Time, had not his unhappy Expedition against *Paretonium* deprived him of their Assistance. A Company of Gladiators , trained up at *Cyzicum* by his Orders , with a View to the Games he purposed to give after defeating *Octavius*, for he had made no Doubt of obtaining the Victory at *Actium*, marched through all *Asia* , in Spite of the Opposition they met with from those Kings and Princes who had deserted *Antony* ; and arrived in *Syria*, where *Didius*, another Defserter of the same Cause, stopped their Passage, though he could not overcome them. From thence they informed *Antony* of their Situation , and entreated him to come and put himself at their Head. — But he preferred marching to *Paretonium* , and , unaccountably, neglected even to send an Answer to these brave Fellows, who, wearied with Delays, and looking upon his Silence as a Refusal of their Offer, at

last came to an Agreement with *Didius*, upon Condition that they should not be obliged to fight any more in the Amphitheatre, but should remain in *Daphne*, one of the Suburbs of *Antioch*, till *Octavius* should give Orders concerning them. They were afterwards separated, and incorporated in different Legions, in Order to disperse and destroy them. — A Treatment ill suited to their generous Behaviour.

Octavius, in the mean Time, arrived before *Pelusium*, near the Spot where *Damieta* now stands, whose Strength, enforced by a numerous Garrison, might have stopped him a long While. But *Seleucus*, then Governor of the Place, immediately gave it up, in Consequence of private Orders from *Cleopatra*, who, having lost all Hopes of Safety from *Antony*, and flattering herself with being beloved by *Octavius*, wanted to make a Merit to the Conqueror of her Treachery towards him whose Misfortunes she had occasioned. This Event gave *Antony* strong Suspicions of Treachery, notwithstanding all his Blindness: but such was his Infatuation still, that the artful Queen soon dissipated them, by delivering up to him the Wife and Children of *Seleucus*.

From *Pelusium*, *Octavius* advanced towards the City of *Alexandria*, situated on the Western Mouth of the *Nile*, and encamped near the *Hippodrome*; depending on his Intelligence with *Cleopatra*, as much as upon his Army. Two Days after *Cæsar* had invested the Place, *Antony* made a vigorous Sally at the Head of his Cavalry, ruined the Works

of the Besiegers , and beat them back to their Camp. But this was a last Effort of expiring Virtue: — For instead of improving his Advantage, and thinking seriously of defending himself by observing *Cleopatra's* Actions, he flew to her immediately after the Battle , threw himself at her Feet , with his Armour on, and kissed her Hands. The Palace resounded with Acclamations, as if the Siege had been raised; and *Cleopatra*, who sought only to amuse *Antony*, ordered a magnificent Entertainment, at which they spent the Remainder of the Day and all the ensuing Night. *Antony* perceiving in the Hall an Officer who had distinguished himself greatly in the Engagement, beckoned to him, and made him sit down by him; whilst *Cleopatra*, to gain him to her Interest, made him a Present of a Head-Piece and Breast-Plate of Gold , finely wrought; after which she sent him that very Night, to *Cæsar*, to let him know what Steps she intended next to take. These were, to deliver up her Fleet , and with it *Antony*, if she could make him fall into the Snare. To this End, she pretended a great Desire that her Ships, on Board of which she had put none but *Alexandrians* and *Phenicians*, should try their Fortune against those of the Enemy. *Antony*, who knew no Will but her's, consented to the Proposal, and at Day-break of the first of *August* drew up his Land-Forces on the neighbouring Hills, from thence to view the Combat. The Fleet sailed out of the Port in good Order: — but how great was his Astonishment when he saw the *Egyptian*

Vessels salute those of *Octavius*, and return with them into the Harbour. At the same Time his Cavalry deserted him. He then tried an Engagement with his Infantry, but was defeated: upon which he flew back to *Alexandria*, vowing revenge on *Cleopatra*, by whom he had been thus basely betrayed.

Just before the Battle, *Antony* had sent a Message to *Octavius*, challenging him to end the War by a single Combat, but was answered coldly, that if he fought for Death, there were other Methods enough to procure it.

Whilst *Antony* was advancing against his Enemy, the treacherous Queen, apprehending the Consequences of his just Resentment, especially during the first Transports of his Wrath, retired to a magnificent Tomb, which she had built for herself, amidst the other Monuments of the Kings of *Egypt*. She had before sent thither most of her valuable Effects, particularly her Gold and Jewels, with Quantities of Perfumes, aromatic Woods, Torches, and other Combustibles, of which a Pile was made, as if she had intended to burn herself with her Riches. She now shut herself up in this Place, the Door of which was strongly defended with Bolts and iron Bars, and caused *Antony* to be told, that, preferring an honorable Death to a shameful Captivity, she had ended her Days amidst the Remains of her Ancestors. If *Dion Cassius* be right in thinking she did this in Order to rid *Octavius* of his Rival, as well knowing that he loved her to such Excess as not to be

able to survive her, it must be owned that this Perfidy was still more atrocious than all she had done before. — Certain it is, that *Antony*, always too credulous, especially when the Character or Welfare of *Cleopatra* was concerned, instantly passed from the most violent Anger, to as great Melancholy and Despair; and, struck with the Idea of her Death, resolved to kill himself. He retired immediately into his Chamber, put off his Armour, and, full of his former Passion, which a Moment's Reflection on *Cleopatra's* Behaviour might have cured him of, sent for one of his most faithful Slaves, named *Eros*, from whom he had some Time before extorted a Promise to kill him, whenever Fortune should drive him to this last Extremity. He now called upon him to keep his Word. The Slave took up a Sword, as if he was going to stab his Master, but plunged it into his own Bosom. — *I commend thee, Eros*, cried *Antony*, seeing him fall at his Feet; *instead of doing that Office, which your Regard for me would not permit you to perform: you show me the Example.* — He then drew his Sword, ran it into his Side, and fell back upon a Couch. The Wound was not immediately mortal; and the Blood stopped after he had lain some Time upon his Back.

He was in this Situation, racked with Anxiety of Mind and Pain of Body, when *Diomedes*, one of the Queen's Secretaries, came from her to propose his being removed to her Tomb; for she had been instantly informed of his rash Action. — Indignation would have filled the Breast of any other

Man, at finding by this Message how fatally he had been deceived with Regard to *Cleopatra's* Death: but *Antony* expressed only Joy at hearing that she was still alive, and earnestly begged to be carried to her. — The Difficulty was how to get him into her Tomb; for she would not by any Means suffer the Door to be opened, for Fear of being surprised by some of *Octavius's* Party. She therefore went to a Window, and threw down Cords, with which she and two of her Women, the only Persons she had taken with her, drew him up. Never was a more moving Sight. — *Antony*, covered with Gore, and in the Agonies of approaching Death, was suspended in the Air, stretching his Hands towards *Cleopatra*, and frequently in Danger of falling; whilst a Number of Spectators, anxious and trembling, encouraged *Cleopatra*, whose utmost Strength was exerted, till at Length, with the Help of her two Attendants, she hoisted him up to the Window, took him in her Arms, and carried him to her Bed. — I do not know that this Picture, which is drawn by *Plutarch*, has been executed by any great Painter: nor could I readily name a Subject in all History better calculated to display the Skill of an able Master.

Cleopatra, who but a few Hours before did not shudder at the Thought of offering *Antony's* Head to *Cæsar*, in Order to preserve her Kingdom, could not now behold him in the Agonies of Death, without being penetrated with Grief. Embracing him with all the Tenderness of real Affection, and bathing him with Tears, she called him her dear

Lord, her Prince, her Husband, and uttered the most mournful Expressions, while she cut off his Hair, according to the Superstition of the Pagans, who imagined that Ceremony gave Ease to such as died a violent Death *. *Antony*, lifting up his Eyes, begged of her to be comforted, assured her that he died happy since he died in her Arms, and that he thought it no Ignominy for a *Roman*, as he was, to be conquered by a *Roman*. Then, exhorting her to save her Life and Kingdom, if she could do it with Honor, and advising her to beware of the Traitors of her own Court, as well as of *Cæsar's* Attendants, *Proculeius* alone excepted, in whom she might safely confide, he expired in her Arms.

* So *Virgil*, in his high-wrought Description of the Death of *Dido*.

Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
 Difficilesque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo,
 Quæ luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
 Nam, quia nec Fato, merita nec Morte peribat,
 Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
 Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
 Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
 Ergo Iris croceis per cœlum roscida pennis.
 Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
 Devolat, & supra caput adstitit: Hunc ego Diti
 Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.
 Sic ait, & dextra crinem secat: omnis & una
 Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

Æneid. Lib. IV. l. 693.

Such was the End of *Antony*, in the fifty-fifth Year of his Age; justly esteemed the greatest General of his Time, till, captivated by *Cleopatra*, he suffered his Courage to be enervated by the Pleasures of her Court, and after losing all his former Glory, lost at last his Life, through a weak and shameful Despair. His good Qualities were great; but his Vices greater. He was naturally open, humane, and liberal: but these Principles of Virtue, not being supported by a sound, firm, and enlightened Reason, were often overpowered by the Violence of his Passions, so far as to make him give Way to the most odious Cruelty, and sometimes degenerated even into Weakness. Born to be governed by Women, he was a flagrant Instance of the Infatuation, Slavery, and endless Disasters, which a foolish Love for the *undeserving* of that Sex never fails to produce. — His natural Character was almost such another as that of a modern General, (*A — r*) who displayed his in his Government of *Minorca*. Only *Antony*, though rude among the *Romans*, was more polished both by Letters and Conversation. — But both were Soldiers, both rapacious, both Swearers, both Drinkers, and both abandoned to Lewdness. — It is no small Compliment to the Modern, to compare him to *M. Antony*.

Antony was scarcely dead when *Proculeius* arrived; for while the wounded General was carrying from his Chamber to *Cleopatra's* Tomb, one of his Guards, named *Derceteus*, catching up the Sword with which he had stabbed himself, ran to *Octavius*,

told him what passed, and produced the fatal Steel tinged with his Rival's Blood. *Octavius* shed Tears; but still less sincere, I doubt, than even those of his Great-uncle *Julius*, after the Death of *Pompey*. He affected to bewail the melancholy Fate of a Brother-in-Law, and a Colleague, with whom he had been connected in the Management of so many great and important Affairs: and, in Order to justify himself, he assembled his Friends, and read to them the Letters which had passed between him and *Antony*; desiring them to observe how reasonable his Proposals had always been, whilst *Antony's* Answers were full of Pride and Haughtiness. After this Farce was ended, he sent *Proculeius* to *Cleopatra*, with Orders to try every Means to get her into his Power, especially by assuring her, that she had nothing to fear from him, for that he would take Care of her and her Children. — The Truth is, that he was afraid of losing the Treasures she had conveyed to her Tomb, and greatly wished to adorn his Triumph with a Captive of her Distinction.

Cleopatra would not confer with *Proculeius*, except through the Bars of the Gate, which was well secured. She demanded the Crown of *Egypt* for her Children: but *Proculeius* advised her to trust to the Victor's Generosity. In the mean Time, he took particular Notice of every Thing about the Place; and while *Gallus*, who came with a second Message from *Octavius*, purposely spun out the Conversation with *Cleopatra* at the Gate, one on the outside and the other within, *Proculeius*

and two Soldiers, with the Help of a Ladder, got in at the Window through which *Antony* had been conveyed. He immediately ran to the Gate; and one of *Cleopatra's* Women crying out, "Un-
 "fortunate Princess, you are taken alive!" She turned about, and seeing *Proculeius*, attempted to stab herself with a Poniard which hung at her Girdle. *Proculeius* caught hold of her Arm, wrested the Dagger from her, and examined her Clothes to see that she had no other Weapons, or any Poison, concealed about her; telling her, that she was unjust both to herself and to his Master, in wanting to deprive him of the Opportunity of showing his Clemency, and in endeavouring to make the most gentle of all Conquerors pass for an implacable Enemy, unworthy to be trusted. — *Octavius*, being informed that *Cleopatra* was taken, ordered *Epaphroditus* to carry her to the Palace, and there to watch her very carefully, without losing Sight of her a Moment, lest she should kill herself: but in every other Respect, to show her the greatest Deference, and do all he could to soften her Captivity.

Cæsar's Behaviour now fully verified the ancient Maxim, which the great Master of Life recommends as an Oracle :

By Converse with the Knowing Princes become Wise’.

᾽ Σοφοὶ Τυραννοὶ Σοφῶν Συννέσται.

Πλάτων Θεαγ. Where he quotes this Line as from *Euripides*; while it is still extant in a Tragedy of *Sophocles*, called the *Locrian Ajax*. — What a Handle of Triumph to

At his Entry into *Alexandria*, he did such an Honor to a learned Man, as has few Parallels in History. He entered the City, holding *Areius* by the Hand, and when the *Alexandrians* were expecting every Thing that was dreadful in Victory and Revenge, he mounted the Tribunal, without quitting his Hold of the Philosopher, and told them in his sententious Way, that he was sensible what they deserved from him; but that he pardoned them, and would spare their City; first, because of its Beauty; next, out of Respect for the Memory of *Alexander*, its Founder¹; and lastly, for the Sake of *Areius*, their Fellow-Citizen, and his Friend². — Such was his Regard for Men of Learning, who are in Fact the Heralds of the Great, the Means by which their Actions are consigned to Immortality. — His esteem for Philosophy made him think it an Honor to himself to have a Philosopher's Head on the Reverse of his Medals. M. *Spanheim*³ gives a fine Head of *Plato*, which, he says, is still extant on the Reverse of a *Greek Medal of Augustus*.

The Conqueror now redoubled his Complaisance

a little Critic! But either the Verse may have been in both Places, of which we have many Instances; or it may have been a Slip of a Great Man's Memory, no Way derogatory to his Superior Knowledge.

¹ *Julian's* Superstitious Fondness for *Serapis* has made him substitute that God, instead of this Hero, as the Founder of *Alexandria*.

² *Plut.* Apothegm.

³ In *Julian*, p. 7.

to the captive Queen, sending regularly to inquire after her Health, and desiring to know wherein he could be of Service. To which she, well knowing what Value to set upon these Compliments, answered, that she only desired Leave to bury her deceased *Antony*. Several *Asiatic* Monarchs, who had received either their Dominions, or other great Favors, from that General, had already begged Leave to pay their last Duty to their Benefactor, by performing his funeral Rites. But *Octavius* reserved this Consolation for the Queen of *Egypt*, who caused his Body to be embalmed with the richest Spices of the East, and erected to him a magnificent Mausoleum among the Tombs of her royal Ancestors.

The Series of Grief which *Cleopatra* had undergone, added to the Contusions she had given herself upon her Breast, brought on a Fever, which she resolved to make a Pretence of to starve herself to Death, under Color of observing a Regimen necessary for her Disorder. Her Physician, *Olympus*, from whom *Plutarch* had this Particular, was in the Secret. But *Octavius*, having discovered her Design, sent her Word, that her Children should suffer for it, if she neglected the Means of recovering her Health. Unable to resist this Menace, she submitted to a proper Treatment, and was cured.

Octavius then sent to desire Leave to wait on her; a Ceremony by which he hoped the better to mask his real Design. He was introduced into her Chamber, where she was lying upon a Couch, with

with nothing on her but a loose Robe. As soon as he entered, she rose up hastily, and threw herself at his Feet. Her Misfortunes had emaciated her, and, in some Measure, soured her Countenance: Her Hair was dishevelled, her Voice trembling, her Complexion pale, and her Eyes cast down; the Marks of the Blows she had given herself were still visible on her Bosom, and her whole outward Form plainly spoke the deplorable Condition of her Mind. Yet her natural Beauty, and the noble Sprightliness of her Looks, had not entirely forsaken her; but even through these disadvantageous external Appearances, alluring Charms might still be discovered in all her Motions. *Octavius* desired her to resume her Seat, and sat down by her.

Cleopatra had prepared herself for this Interview, which she greatly desired, and now resolved to make the best Use of, to sound the Conqueror. Apologies, Entreaties, and Allurements were resorted to, but equally in vain. She began with attempting to justify herself, and to throw the Cause of the War entirely upon *Antony*, whom, she said, she was forced to obey: but *Octavius* easily refuted those Excuses, and showed her that she was wrong in every Article. She then submitted to implore his Clemency: — but, a Moment after, changing her Tone and Subject, she showed the young *Cæsar* several Portraits of his Great-Uncle, which she had hung up in her Chamber, and read to him several tender Letters which she had received from that Dictator; frequently interrupting the Discourse with mournful Complaints, and

Reflections on herself. *Of what Service*, cried she, *can those Letters be to me, which that Great Man honored me with? Why could not I die with him?* Then, recovering herself, and addressing Octavius, *Oh*, said she, *I find him again in you: He revives for me in your Person.* Octavius was no Stranger to this Language: but he remained so firm against every Attack, that Cleopatra was obliged to return to Affairs of Business.

After thanking him for the Compliments, which Proculeius had made her in his Name, and which he himself had been pleased to confirm, she told him, that, in Return, she would deliver to him all the Riches of the Kings of Egypt; and with these Words she presented him an Inventory of her Treasure, which gave rise to a singular Scene: for Seleucus, one of her Stewards, having alledged that the Inventory was not just, and that she had secreted certain Jewels, which he mentioned, she flew into a violent Passion, started from her Couch, and catching him by the Hair, gave him several Blows on the Face. Octavius smiled at this Sally, and desired her to desist: *What, Sir*, said she, *whilst you do me the Honor of visiting me in this melancholy Situation, is it not provoking that one of my Slaves should dare to affront me in your Presence? And even if what he says were true; can it be supposed that I should keep for myself, those Ornaments which no longer suit my Fortune? Or could I be blamed for preserving some Presents to offer to Livia and Octavia, in Order, by their Means, to obtain Indulgence from you?* Octavius, pleased with this

Speech, because it looked as if she did not think of destroying herself, bid her keep what she had reserved, and assured her, that he should endeavour to oblige her in every other Thing, even beyond what she herself could hope.

It is very plain, that *Cleopatra* hoped, at this Interview, to work *Cæsar* first to Pity, and then to Love. — Every Part of her Dress, Appearance, and Behaviour; tended to one of these two. — Her Fury against her own Servant showed the most outrageous Temper; and she appears tossed in a Whirl of Passions throughout the whole Visit. — Indeed her Fate depended upon the Success of her Wiles, and she immediately read it in *Cæsar's* Eyes. He endeavoured to dissemble in his Words; assured her of the kindest Treatment, becoming her royal State, and the Splendor of her Family; and pressed her to take Care of her Health, and to command him in every Thing she desired. — But while he spoke, she observed that he never once raised his Eyes from the Ground, nor looked her in the Face: — Perhaps he thought it the surest Way of ordering his Looks, to show neither Anger nor Love: — Or rather, conscious Guilt, and a formed Design to deceive, produced this Effect; which was a certain Evidence to the Queen, that she was undone, and could not make the least Impression upon his Heart.

Cleopatra kept a Correspondence with *Dolabella*, a young Roman of high Birth, and attached to *Octavius*, but who, out of Compassion, or perhaps a stronger Motive, interested himself in her Mis-

fortunes. He privately informed her, according to their Agreement, that *Octavius* was preparing to return to *Italy* by Land, through *Syria*, and that she was to be sent off in three Days, with her Children.

Upon this, she desired Leave of *Octavius* to offer Libations on *Antony's* Tomb; which being granted, she repaired thither with her two faithful Attendants, embraced his Coffin, bathed it with her Tears, and invoked his Spirit to witness that she would soon rejoin him. She then returned home, bathed, and ordered a great Dinner to be prepared, during which a Peasant brought her a covered Basket. The Guards set about her under Pretence of Honor, but in Reality to watch all her Motions, asking what it was, he opened it, took out the Leaves at the Top, and showed them some Figs. They admired their Size and Beauty, and let him pass, not suspecting that he carried any Thing else.

As soon as she had finished her Dinner, she gave *Epaphroditus* a Letter, sealed, to deliver to *Cæsar*; then ordered every one to leave her, except her two Women, who immediately shut the Doors of her Apartment. *Octavius*, upon opening the Letter, found in it nothing but lamentable Entreaties, *Cleopatra* requesting, as the greatest Favor, to be buried beside *Antony*. Easily apprehending what this signified, he at first thought of going to her himself; but a Moment after, judged it more proper to send some of those who were about him, to examine what had passed. They ran with all Speed, and found the Guards quiet at their Posts,

not in the least suspecting that any Accident had happened: but upon their entering the Chamber, they saw *Cleopatra* lying dead upon a gilded Bed, arrayed in her royal Robes. Of the two Women who waited upon her, *Iras* lay dead at her Mistress's Feet, and the other, *Charmion*, already staggering, and hardly able to support herself, was putting the Diadem on *Cleopatra's* Head. *This is finely done*, *Charmion*! cried one of those who came in, with great Emotion. *Yes*, replied she, *it is finely done, and worthy a Princess descended from so many Kings*. On pronouncing these Words, she fell down and expired.

Cleopatra died at the Age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two Years; during fourteen of which, partaking in *Antony's* good Fortune, she saw all the Kings and Princes of the East glory in being allowed servilely to cringe before her. Ambition, the Motive of all her Actions, made her vainly hope to triumph over the whole *Roman Empire*, and reign in the Capitol*.

* — — — dum Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Fusus & Imperio parabat.

Says *Horace*, in the last (a), but not least beautiful, of six Odes, which he composed upon the ending of the War between *Octavius* and *Antony*. The Poet seems here to triumph with the Conqueror: Though we may observe in this, as well as in all the other Odes of his writing, on the Subject of the Civil Wars, which had desolated the Republic for many Years, a constant Tendernefs and Care

(a) *Lib. I. Od. 37.*

— Impelled by that fatal Passion, she had made War upon her eldest Brother, poisoned a second, and ordered her Sister *Arfinœ* to be murdered. The Abuse, which she made of *Antony's* Confidence, during the many Years they lived together, and his extreme Indulgence towards her, is an atrocious Piece of Ingratitude, which she crowned with the blackest Perfidy by betraying to an Enemy the Person whom she feigned to love more than her Life. — And, that she might partake of every Kind of Shame, she had the Mortification to see her Advances to *Octavius* rejected, and those Efforts, by which she tried to kindle in him a Passion, in which, till that Time, she had always triumphed, repulsed with Contempt. Her Haughtiness attended her even to her last Moments, which she chose to accelerate, rather than submit to adorn the Triumph of her Conqueror⁵. — With her fell the *Egyptian* Monarchy, which had subsisted two hundred and ninety-four Years, under thirteen Kings of the Family of the *Lagidæ*. — She was

for the Person of *Antony*. — All the Indignation of the Poet falls upon *Cleopatra*.

⁵ Deliberatâ Morte ferocior :
 Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens,
 Privata deduci superbo
 Non humilis Mulier triumpho.

Hor. ib.

Where, by the Way, the Poet artfully mentions these Vessels, because they were particularly serviceable in gaining the Victory, in Compliment to his Patron *Mecenas*, who commanded that Squadron.

buried near *Antony*, according to her Desire, and after the Manner of the *Egyptians*: her own Subjects being charged to direct her Funeral with a Magnificence becoming so great a Queen, at the Expence of *Octavius*, who likewise finished the Tomb which she and *Antony* had begun to build for themselves, and ordered an honorable Sepulture for the two faithful Women, who had accompanied her to her Death.

How wild soever *Cleopatra's* Conduct might be, yet her high Spirit and Capacity, her Grandeur and extensive Territories, made the famous *Zenobia*, the Queen of the East, boast that she was descended from the *Ptolomies* and *Cleopatra*, and lay Claim to their wide Dominion.

Though *Octavius*, now without any Sort of Rival, and incontestably Master of the *Roman* Empire, showed, in general, a Clemency suitable to his high Fortune, yet he exercised such Rigors, as he thought necessary for his Security. Among these was the Execution of *Antyllus*, (so called as a Descendant from *Hercules*) the eldest of *Antony's* Sons by *Fulvia*. The unfortunate Youth was delivered up by his Preceptor *Theodore*. Neither the Statue of *Julius Cæsar*, which he clasped in his Arms; nor his being betrothed to *Julia*, by the Treaty concluded at *Tarentum*, could save him. The Wretch who betrayed him, when he ought to have preserved his Life, even at the Expence of his own, soon brought upon himself, by a fresh Crime, the Punishment due to his Perfidy: for while the Soldiers were preparing to

behead *Antyllus*. *Theodore* stole from him a valuable Jewel, which hung at his Neck; Search was made for it, and the Thief denied it: but he was presently convicted of the Fact, and crucified.

Cleopatra, a little before her Death, thinking to save her Son *Cæsario*, whom she had by the Dictator *Cæsar*, intrusted him to the Care of one *Rhodon*, with Orders to carry him to the King of *Ethiopia*. But the base Traitor, in Hopes of a Reward, brought him back to *Octavius*. A Council was assembled, to deliberate upon the Fate of this unfortunate Youth, when *Areius*, who had the Honor to sit as a Member, being asked his Opinion, answered, alluding to Part of a Line of *Homer*,

Away with many Chiefs — One Head is best ⁶.

Though this Answer has more the Air of a Courtier than of a Patriot, yet it was sound Advice at Bottom; as in the low State to which Vice and Venality had reduced the Republic, there was now little Prospect of its ever recovering its Liberty, and many Chiefs of opposite Factions would only have served to rend the miserable Remains by new Struggles for personal Power. — Though, indeed, there was no great Occasion for very cogent Reasons to induce *Octavius* to

⁶ *Homer* says, (I. II. l. 204.) Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαιρανίη,
But *Areius* turned it in this Manner to *Octavius*,

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκαισαρίη· εἰς καίσαρ' ἔσω.

make away with a Man, who disputed with him the Quality of *Cæsar's* Son. — *Cæsar* was therefore put to Death.

The Statues which had been erected to *Antony* were thrown down after his Death ⁷, by Virtue of a Decree of the Senate, passed when *Cicero's* Son presided as Consul. A very singular Circumstance, and which was remarked by all the World as a Kind of Consolation to the Manes of *Cicero*, whose Son gave the last Blow of Infamy and Vengeance to his Enemy and Murderer. For the same Decree ordered, that whatever had been enacted in Favor of *Antony* should be abolished; that his Birth-Day should be ranked among the unfortunate Days; and that none of his Family should ever after bear the Name of *Marcus* ⁸. — I must here observe, that *Octavius* seems to have desired to wash off the Reproach of his Ingratitude towards *Cicero*, by the Regard which he showed to his Son. — Young *Cicero*, after the Battle of *Philippi*, retired at first to *Sicily*, to *Sextus Pompey*. It is probable that he returned to *Rome* after the Battle of *Miseno*; and thus being in a Situation to receive *Octavius's* Favors, he was first made Augur, and afterwards advanced to the Consulship, which he held from the thirteenth of *September*, to the first of *November*, in the Year I am now speaking of ⁹.

⁷ *Vell.* Lib. II. c. 86.

⁸ *Plut.* in *Cic.* *Appian.* de Bell. Civil. Lib. IV. *Dio.* & *Plin.*

⁹ U. C. DCCXXIII.

The Statues of *Cleopatra* would not have been more respected than those of *Antony*, if her generous Friend, *Archibius*, had not preserved them from being destroyed, by giving *Octavius* a thousand Talents; about two hundred and twenty-five thousand Pounds of our Money.

Antony left seven Children by three different Wives. He had by *Fulvia*, *Antyllus*, and *Julius Antonius*; by *Octavia*, two Daughters, both named *Antonia*; by *Cleopatra*, two Sons, *Ptolomey* and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, named *Cleopatra* after her Mother. We have already seen the melancholy Fate of *Antyllus*. As to the rest, *Octavia*, who continued always faithful to the Memory of an ungrateful Husband, took them under her Care, and educated them with her own Children; performing the office of a Mother to them all. She even made *Julius Antonius* her Son-in-Law, by giving him in Marriage *Marcella*, whom she had by her first Husband, *Marcellus*. *Octavius*, who spared him, perhaps because he liked his Name better, or thought his Temper less dangerous, than that of his elder Brother, gave him his Father's forfeited Estate. — *Cleopatra*, surnamed *Selene*, or *the Moon*, had, for her Portion, Part of the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, and was married to the younger *Juba*, the most amiable and most learned King of his Time. We are not told what became of *Ptolomey* and *Alexander*, any farther than that the Conqueror spared their Lives. — The eldest of *Antony's* Daughters by *Octavia* married *Domitius Ahenobarbus*; and the other, distinguished

by the Name of the Younger *Antonia*, but still more so by her Beauty and Virtue, became the Wife of *Drusus* and the Mother of *Germanicus*. — By these Alliances, *Antony's* Posterity arrived at the sovereign Power in *Rome*; *Caligula* his Great-Grand-Son, *Claudius* his Grandson, and *Nero*, who descended from him both by his Father and Mother, being successively Emperors, and his Descendants. For *Domitius*, the Father of this last, was *Antony's* Grandson; and *Agrippina*, his Mother, was *Antony's* Great-Grand-Daughter.

The *Juba*, Second of the Name, who married *Cleopatra Selene*, was Son of *Juba I.* and Grandson of *Hiempsal*, both Kings of *Numidia* — The elder *Juba* had espoused the Cause of the Great *Pompey*; but, after the Death of that Assertor of Liberty, he was defeated by the Dictator *Julius*, who reduced his Kingdom into a Province dependent on the *Romans*, in the Year DCCVIII. The Historian *Sallust* was the first Governor of it. The dethroned Monarch, unable to brook his Disgrace, prevailed on *Petreius*, the Companion of his Misfortunes, to put an End to his Sufferings and Life¹. — The younger *Juba*, then an Infant, was made one of the Ornaments of the Victor's Triumph at *Rome*, where he was educated, and attached himself to *Octavius*, who, upon his marrying *Cleopatra*, gave him the two *Mauritanias*, and Part of *Getulia*. — By this Means, he continued the Posterity of

¹ *Sueton.* in *Cæs. Florus*, Lib. IV. c. 2. *Plut.* in *Pomp.* & *Cæs. Dion.* Lib. XLIII. & seq.

Masinissa. — *Ptolomy*, whom the Wretch *Caligula* put to Death, was their Son.

Juba was a great Naturalist, and extremely curious; but, I suspect, a little credulous, as *Pliny* ², who has borrowed largely from him, and who says that his Knowledge rendered him still more illustrious than his Crown, mentions his asserting in a Letter to *Caius Cæsar*, that a dead Man was brought to Life by the Virtue of an Herb which grows in *Arabia*. — A Country, it would seem, always productive of Miracles. — He likewise says, that *Serniramis* was fond of a Horse, and that her Passion rose to the Height of *Pasiphæ's* for her Bull. — The Plant *Euphorbium* is said to have been first discovered, and so named, by him, from his Physician *Euphorbius*. — Certain it is, that he was a most amiable, and very learned, Prince. — Both *Pliny* ³ and *Athenæus* ⁴ mention several Works of his Writing.

Octavius's Clemency, upon the taking of *Alexandria*, was not confined to *Antony's* Family alone. Most of the surviving *Romans*, who had followed that unfortunate Chief, were pardoned; History mentioning only three of them, *Cassius* of *Parma*, *Canidius*, and the Senator *Ovinus*, who were punished with Death.

L. Nasidius, *Sentius Saturninus*, *Minutius Thermus*, *C. Antistius Vetus*, and the other Champions of

² Lib. XXV. c. 7.

³ Ubi supra, & Lib. V. c. 1.

⁴ Lib. III. IV. & VII.

Liberty, had stuck by *S. Pompey* after his Defeat, and accompanied him in his Flight to *Asia*: but finding him inconstant, and wildly bent on making War without Men or Ships, they abandoned him, and went over to *Antony*. Even *Libo*, his Father-in-Law, and *Fannius Cæpio* his Favorite, forsook him. — All these had either left *Antony* before the Rupture, or made their Peace with *Octavius* after it; except the brave *Cassius of Parma*, who had retired to *Athens*, where he still disdained to become a Suppliant to *Cæsar*, and held Life too cheap to purchase it by a Meanness: — Though, indeed, his Quality of one of *Cæsar's* Murderers would have barred the Way to Forgiveness, had he sought it. — Whether *Varius* had any particular Pique against *Cassius*, I cannot tell: Both being learned Men, and of different Parties, they may have drawn their Pens, as well as their Swords, against one another, and so improved the Party-Spirit into a personal Enmity. — *Varius* was now pitched upon to execute, methinks, the unpleasant Office of cutting off *Cassius's* Head; and as his Writings, which were very numerous, though *Horace* gives us no very favorable Idea of his Talents in this Way, were supposed to be full of the *Roman* Spirit, Love of Liberty, and Detestation

' — — — Etrusci

Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius anni

Ingenium; capsis quem fama est esse librisque

Ambustum propriis.

Sat. L. I. 10. v. 16.

of the Usurper, it was thought ingenious to use them, and the Boxes which contained them, as Materials for a Funeral Pile to their Author. — If *Varius* took Pleasure in overseeing this Execution, he has been sufficiently punished by a Stain fixed on his Memory, as if he had stolen from *Cassius's* Papers, a Sketch of that Tragedy on which his Reputation as a Poet came principally to depend.

Canidius deserved his Fate, as a Traitor to his late Master, and a Tool to *Cleopatra*. His Behaviour in his last Moments was even cowardly. — *Ovinus* was a fawning, worthless Sycophant to *Cleopatra*, and debased the Senatorial Dignity, with which he was invested, so far as to accept the Place of Keeper of her Wardrobe; an Office which was looked upon as servile among the *Romans*.

The Great *Pompey* had generously destroyed *Sertorius's* Papers; and the Dictator *Cæsar* had magnanimously imitated him in that Respect, after his Victory over *Metellus Scipio*; to remove from those who had been connected with the unfortunate Party, all Fears of being called to an After-Account. — *Octavius* wanted to have the Honor of so glorious an Action, whilst he had not the Spirit to deserve it. He declared, that he had burnt all *Antony's* Papers: but at the same Time, with his usual Artifice and Cunning, he carefully preserved the greatest Part of them, and made no Scruple to use them afterwards to serve his Ends.

Dio. Cass. Lib. LII.

His Conduct was more sincere with Regard to the Foreigners he found at *Alexandria*, among whom were Sons and Daughters of most of the Kings and Princes in Alliance with, or dependent on, *Antony*, who had kept the former as Hostages, and the latter to gratify his brutal Passions. The Conqueror treated them all with great Gentleness, sending some of them back, making suitable Marriages between others, and detaining several; but without using them harshly. *Jotapa*, who had been intended for one of *Antony's* Sons, was conducted honorably to the King of the *Medes*, her Father, who had courted *Octavius's* Friendship for some Time. But *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, could not obtain the Liberty of his Sons, because he had massacred the *Romans* who remained in his Country.

Whilst *Octavius* was at *Alexandria*, he visited the Tomb of *Alexander* the Great. *Dion* says he even saw his Body, and that the Tip of the Nose, on which he laid his Finger, was instantly reduced to Dust. — The Testimonies of Veneration which he showed to the Ashes of that Conqueror, the Flowers which he strewed upon his Monument, and the Crown with which he adorned it, are Circumstances much more worthy of Remembrance. — The *Alexandrians* wanted likewise to show him the Tombs of the *Ptolomies*: but he refused it, telling them, that he was curious to see a *King*, and not *Dead Bodies*. — His Answer to them,

⁷ *Suet. Aug. § XVII.*

when they proposed his visiting *Apis*, was still more solid and judicious. *I am accustomed*, said he, *to honor the Gods, and not an Ox.*

Egypt, now a conquered Country, and a *Roman Province*, afforded *Octavius* such immense Riches as enabled him not only to discharge all he owed to his Soldiers, and to give those who followed him in this last Expedition a Gratuity of a hundred and fifty Denarii (about six Pounds) a Man, by Way of Compensation for the Plunder of *Alexandria*, which he would not allow them to ransack; but also to repay what he had borrowed for supporting the War, with magnificent Rewards to the *Roman Senators* and *Knights* who had assisted him. The vast Treasures of the *Ptolomies* had been greatly augmented by *Cleopatra*, whose rapacious Hand spared not even what was most sacred in the Temples. The Reproach of these Sacrileges fell upon her, whilst *Octavius* enjoyed the Profit of them: to which was added a prodigious Sum paid by the *Egyptians*, as an Acknowledgment for their Pardon. — A manifest Proof how much *Rome* was enriched by the Conquest of *Egypt*, resulted from her Commerce. The Funds doubled their Value, and the Interest of Money fell from twelve to four *per Cent.* — Part of this Effect must, indeed, be attributed to the general Peace and Tranquillity which was now established.

The Acquisition of *Egypt* was an Object of infinite Importance; not so much for the immense Wealth which it conveyed to the Capital, as that it became the Granary of *Rome*, and chief Means

Means of its Subsistence during at least four Months of the Year. The Head of the Empire was greatly increased, like our own Metropolis: but the Body, Thanks to Heaven, was very unlike *Britain*; being in a starving Condition, laid waste by the Civil War. The public Domain, destined for the Nourishment of the *Romans*, had been squandered by *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony*, and *Octavius* himself. — *Campania* was divided; — *Sicily* dissipated by Grants to Favorites; and the Farms of *Italy* were turned into Groves of Pleasure, while her fertile Fields lay waste for Want of Hands to till them^s. — In a little Time, *Rome* came to depend upon *Alexandria* for Bread; and the Arrival of a Fleet from that Port was like a Visit from Heaven^s.

Cæsar, who foresaw this Dependance, and intended to make *Egypt* likewise a Prop of his Power, sequestrated it from the other Provinces, and devised a peculiar Policy by which it should be governed. — In the first Place, it was to have no other Prefect, than a Procurator or Steward. — No regular Magistrate, Pretor, or Pro-Consul was to be intrusted with it, or enter it with Ensigns of Dignity. — No Senator was so much as to set his Foot in that Province, without express Permission of the Emperor. This afterwards gave *Tiberius* a Handle to reflect severely upon the noble *Germanicus*¹, who, without other Design,

^s *Tacit.*

^s *Senec. Epist. 78.*

¹ *Tacit. Hist. Lib. II.*

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than indulging a refined Curiosity, and viewing its rare Antiquities, had made a Progress through *Egypt* in a very popular Manner.

We have a beautiful Account of this Country in the younger *Pliny's* Panegyric upon the excellent *Trajan*. — “ *Egypt*, says he, used to boast its Production of Grain without the Assistance of Showers from Heaven. For being constantly overflowed by its own River, and watered by no other Fountain than its propitious Stream, it was clad with such never-failing Crops, as to contend with the most fruitful Spots of the Universe. But this very Country, by an unexpected Drought, became, not only less productive, but totally barren. The languid *Nile* lay groveling within his Banks, and those happy Fields he used to overflow were covered with parched Dust. It was then that *Egypt* wished for Clouds in vain, and in vain looked up to the scorching Sky. The Parent of their Plenty was himself shrunk up, and left Famine and Death to inhabit wherever he did not come. Under this Calamity, *Egypt* implored the Assistance of our Prince, and felt her Miseries no longer than he had Time to send her Relief. It was anciently taken for granted, that *Rome* could not be nourished or supported, but by the Stores of *Egypt*; and that insolent airy Nation used to boast, that the *Romans*, their Conquerors, must depend upon them for Food; that their living or starving must proceed from their River, and pass through *Egyptian* Hands. But now we

“ have refunded them their Wealth , and the *Nile*
“ has found a new Employment , in importing
“ those Stores he used to send abroad. Let then
“ the *Egyptians* know , that , instead of providing
“ for our Sustenance , they only pay their Taxes.
“ That their Subjection is convenient , but not
“ necessary for the *Roman* People. Let the *Nile*
“ henceforth , if he thinks fit , keep within his
“ Banks , and roll down a scanty Stream all the
“ Year round : It is of no Consequence to *Rome* ;
“ nor even to *Egypt* herself , save that her empty
“ Ships , such as they used to be in their Return ,
“ will sail from the *Tyber* laden and full.”

What *Tacitus* ² calls the *Arts of Augustus* were in nothing more apparent than in the Government of *Egypt*. — Sensible of the Advantages with which a Governor of that Country , rich , inexhaustible , difficult of Access , and full of a fickle and mutinous People , might , especially if of an ancient Family , dispute the supreme Power , even with the chief of *Rome* ; he considered who , among all his Friends , was the fittest Person to discharge the mighty Trust ; and at last pitched upon the celebrated *Cornelius Gallus*. — His Spirit , Experience , and Address , rendered him capable of moving in so high a Sphere. — His Services deserved it ; and his Birth and Rank (he being but a *Roman* Knight) removed all Fear of his making a bad Use of his Power. *Alexander* had formerly been struck with similar Apprehensions , and had

² Lib. XII.

taken Precautions against the Danger, by dividing the Authority among several Persons³. — To prevent the Effect⁴ of the restless and seditious Spirit of the People, *Octavius* would not allow them either Senate or public Council in *Alexandria*, though almost all the Towns in the Empire enjoyed this Prerogative. Nor did he establish in *Egypt* the same general Form of Government as the *Romans* introduced into their new Conquests, which had always some Thing of the republican Turn. This country was governed according to the monarchical System⁵, and the *Roman* Prefects represented its ancient Kings. These Regulations were passed into a Law, and settled as a Maxim of State⁶.

Severe as these Measures might seem to be, *Egypt* enjoyed under the *Roman* Government a Happiness to which she had, till then, been a Stranger. Her last Kings had been a Set of Monsters, cruel, tyrannical, Contemners of the Laws, and negligent of the Welfare of their Subjects. In Spite of all its natural Advantages, the Country was very unhappy. The Canals for conveying the Waters of the Nile, so necessary for fertilizing the Soil, and so beneficial for the inland Trade of the Kingdom, were quite choked up with Mud. *Octavius* made his Troops cleanse them, and cut

³ *Arrian*. Lib. III.

⁴ *Dio*.

⁵ *Strabo*.

⁶ *Tacit*. Annal. II. 59.

new ones; by which the Air was purified, Commerce revived, and *Alexandria*, the general Magazine of all Nations, the Chain which connected the East with the West, was rendered the second City of the Universe; a Rank which she held ever after, till the Building of *Constantinople*.

Towards the End of the fine Season he left *Egypt*, crossed *Syria*, and went into *Asia*, to pass the Winter there; in Order to establish Tranquillity, as well as his own Authority, in those vast Countries, which had not yet formally submitted to his Laws. To make them immediately sensible of the Difference between his Government and that of *Antony*, he replaced in their Temples, the Statues, which his Rival had taken from them, to satisfy *Cleopatra's* Avarice; a Restitution, which the Attachment of the *Greeks* to their Religion, and their Love for the Arts, rendered extremely agreeable to them.

Whilst *Octavius* was busied in ending the grand Dispute, and settling the Consequences of the *Alexandrian* Victory; *Phraates*, King of the *Parthians*, elated by the Success of his Arms against *Antony*, gave such a Loose to his Pride and Cruelty, that his Subjects expelled him, and set up *Tiridates* in his Stead. The dethroned King had Recourse to the *Scythians*, who lent him Troops, with which he returned into his Kingdom, where a Civil War ensued. Both Parties requested *Octavius's* Assistance: but he knew his own Interest too well, not to be pleased at seeing the Forces of a powerful Empire, the only Rival to that of *Rome*,

destroy each other by their intestine Feuds. He therefore answered, that he was too much taken up with his own Affairs, to be able then to attend to theirs. *Phraates* afterwards overcame *Tiridates*, who there-upon fled into *Syria* with one of his Enemy's Sons, whom he had taken Prisoner. Both Princes still applied to *Cæsar*; *Tiridates* pressing him to re-establish him upon the Throne, and promising in that Case, to become his Vassal; and *Phraates* demanding of him to deliver up *Tiridates* his rebellious Slave, and to send back his Son. But *Octavius*, listening to neither of their Demands, promised *Tiridates* a sure Refuge in *Syria*, and resolved to take with him *Phraates's* Son, as a Hostage to *Rome*, whither he was preparing to return.

He would have been in very great Danger there, if the watchful *Mecenas* had not prevented it. *Paulus Emilius Lepidus*, an impetuous Youth, had formed a Conspiracy to assassinate him at his Arrival. — He saw in him the Destroyer of all his Relations and Supporters, and intended to revenge, by his Death, his Father, the Triumvir, whom he had stripped of his Possessions; his Uncle, *M. Brutus*, whom he reduced to kill himself; and, according to *Dio* ⁷, his once Father-in-law, *M. Antony*, a recent Victim of the Conqueror's Ambition. — We have no full Account of this Conspiracy, nor can I say who were the Persons concerned in it. — As to this Daughter of *Antony*, who, *Dio* says,

⁷ Lib. XLIV.

was married to young *Lepidus* soon after the Death of the Dictator *Cæsar*, she is no where else mentioned in History, and must have died before the Time I am now speaking off; for we do not find her among the Children which *Antony* left at his Death; and the Wife of *Lepidus*, when he conspired, was his own Cousin, the young *Servilia*. — *Mecenas* got Scent of the Plot, but took no Notice of it till he had full Proof against *Lepidus*, who was then seized, convicted, and put to Death. — His Wife *Servilia* resolved to follow him to the Grave: whereupon her Friends, perceiving her Design, took from her every Instrument with which they thought she could hurt herself, and watched her very closely; but she choked herself by swallowing live Coals out of a Chafing-Dish *. — This is the Source of the Mistake concerning the celebrated *Porcia*, *Cato's* Daughter and *Brutus's* Wife.

The Conspirator's Mother, *Junia*, Sister of *Brutus*, was included in the criminal Process, and *Mecenas* wanted to send her to *Octavius* to be judged by him; or, at least, demanded sufficient Bail for her Appearance whenever she should be called upon. — Here is a remarkable Instance of the Instability of Human Affairs. — The Consul before whom the Prosecution was carried on, and who was to determine it finally, was one who had been proscribed. *Appian* † calls him *Balbinus*.

* *Vell. Paterc. Lib. II. § 88.*

† *Bell. Civil. Lib. IV.*

— Old *Lepidus*, one of the three Authors of the Proscription, was obliged to implore the Protection of this very Consul, having fallen into such Discredit, that he could not find any Person to be Security for his Wife. He frequently waited before *Balbinus's* Door, without gaining Admittance; and when he wanted to approach the Tribunal, the Lictors pushed him back. At last, forcing his Way in, and addressing himself to *Balbinus*; *The Prosecutors of my Wife and Son*, said he, *acknowledge my Innocence, and do not even accuse me of being an Accomplice with either of them.* — *As to you, it was not I who proscribed you; though I now see above me several whom I did proscribe.* — *Consider the Changes of Fortune to which all Mankind is subject.* — Behold *Lepidus*, now a Suppliant before you. — Touched with this Sight, either accept me as Security for my Wife, or send me with her, bound, to *Cæsar*. The Consul was so moved by this Speech, that he excused *Junia* from giving Bail.

The Senate did not wait for the entire Defeat and Death of *Antony* to decree his Conqueror Honors, which might have been premature. Immediately after the Battle of *Actium*, an Order was published for his triumphing over *Cleopatra*; and it was farther resolved, that two triumphal Arches should be erected for him, one at *Brindisi*, and the other in the Forum at *Rome*; that the Prows of the Ships taken at *Actium* should be consecrated in the Temple erected to *Julius Cæsar*; that Games should be celebrated every five Years

in Honor of *Octavius*; that his Birth-day, and that on which the News of his Victory arrived at *Rome*, should be kept as Festivals; and that the Vestals, the Senators, and all the Citizens of *Rome*, with their Wives and Children, should go out to receive him at his Return. The Crowns and Statues decreed him, were innumerable. — The Death of his Rival became a Motive of farther Homage to his good Fortune. A new Triumph was decreed him on Account of his Conquest of *Egypt*; for it was particularly observed, as a Point of Delicacy and Decency, in the Titles of the Triumphs, not to mention either *Antony*, or the *Romans* who had followed him. The Senate likewise ordered, that the Day on which *Alexandria* was taken should be celebrated as a Festival, and serve as an Epoch from which the *Egyptians* should date their Years. — The *Tribunician* Power, which had never been given to any Person who was not actually a Tribune, was also offered him, with the extraordinary Prerogative of extending it a Mile beyond the Walls of the City, within the Circuit of which the Authority of other Tribunes had always been confined; but he refused it; And, though offered again afterwards, would not accept it, till he abdicated his eleventh Consulship, as I shall have Occasion to observe. He was, however, in some Measure, acknowledged Chief of the Republic, by an Order that his Name should be added to those of the Senate and People, in the Prayers and Vows which were offered up for the Safety of the State; and, on the first of *January*, his

Colleague in his now fifth Consulship, with the whole Senate, swore to observe his Decrees: — A Homage paid only by Subjects to their Sovereign. — Among other Distinctions, he was allowed to increase the Number of the Priests as much as he pleased; a Right which both he and his Successors made such ample Use of, that the Number of those in *Rome*, clothed in sacerdotal Robes became so great, that, *Dio* says, it would have been difficult to keep a Register of them all.

The Spirit of Flattery seldom knows any Bounds. — Not content with heaping on him all the Honors a Mortal could receive, the *Romans* already associated him with their Gods, ordering his Name to be inserted with theirs in the Hymns which were sung at the most solemn Festivals, and, as *Horace* informs us, in one of his Odes, written several Years after the Time I now speak of, but alluding to it in some Parts, enjoining Libations to him, as a tutelar Deity of the Empire, at the End of all their public or private Feasts¹. — *Octavius* accepted

¹ Quisque — — — alteris (a).

Te mensis adhibet Deum :

Te multâ prece , te prosequitur mero

Defuso pateris ; & Laribus tuum

Miscet numen , uti Græcia Castoris

Et magni memor Herculis.

Lib. IV. Od. 5.

(a) The *Romans* used two Tables in their Entertainments : the first for Meat, the second for Fruits; at which last they sung Hymns, and performed their Libations.

most of these, and some other Honors; though he declined the Tribunician Power, for the present, as I said before, and declared absolutely that he did not desire the whole Number of the Citizens should go out to meet him at his Entry into *Rome*. Not only the Titles which had Power annexed to them, but even those which were merely honorary, pleased him in several Respects. His Vanity was flattered by so many Testimonies of Veneration, and he knew that whatever heightens the Majesty of the Law-giver in the Eyes of the People, disposes them the more readily to obey him.

The Attention of Mankind was now fixed upon him, and the Happiness and Misery, both of Nations and of Individuals, already depended on his Will. This made him the Subject of all Conversations, and the minutest Things about his Person and Family. Things that would have remained in perpetual Obscurity without the *Philippic*, the *Actian*, and the *Alexandrian* Victories, were canvassed with extreme Curiosity. He was now too great and good to be the Son of a mere Man: But his Mother *Atia* going once to a Feast of Apollo at *Midnight*, ordered her Chair to be set down in the Temple, until the other Matrons should assemble; and happening to fall asleep, a great Snake immediately crept into the Chair, and in a little Time came out again. *Atia*, when she awaked, before she would enter upon the sacred Ceremony, purified herself, as if she had just risen from her Husband's Embraces, and found a Mark of a Snake

upon her Body, as if it had been painted, which could never be rubbed out: for which Reason, from that Time forward, she discontinued going to the public Baths with the other Ladies. — She proved with Child, and bore *Augustus* in the tenth Month after. His Father *Octavius* was detained, by his Wife's being in Labor, from going at the usual Hour to the Senate, then busied about *Catiline's* Conspiracy: but coming late, and the Cause of it being known, *P. Nigidius Figulus*, the great *Tuscan* Haruspex and Astrologer, asked him the Hour and Minute of the Birth, and after a little Pause, assured the Father, that the *Lord of the World* was born. The same Thing was afterwards confirmed to him by the Priests of *Bacchus*, as I hinted before, when he was leading his Army through *Thrace*. He went to consult the Oracle among the Barbarians, in the Grove of *Liber Pater*, concerning his Son; and pouring Wine upon the Altar, according to the Form of their Ceremonies, such a Flame arose from it, as mounted over the Top of the Temple, and blazed toward Heaven; an Omen which never happened before but to *Alexander the Great* only, when he was doing Sacrifice at the same Altar. — The Night following, *Octavius* dreamed he saw his Son of a larger Stature than that of Men, holding a Thunder-bolt and Sceptre in his Hands, arrayed like omnipotent *Jove*, with a radiated Crown upon his Head, and drawn in a laurelled Chariot by twelve Horses whiter than Snow. — The uncommon Fortune which attended this Son made these Things pass current with

many: For if there be any one very extraordinary Thing about a Person, there is a great Propensity among the Bulk of Mankind to believe many more. — Nor is it important to which Side the wonderful Quality leans; to great Grandeur, or great Humility. A half-naked Hermit, with a long Beard, a Girdle of Ropes, and a Pilgrim's Staff, commands as much Admiration as a private Man that rises to a Diadem. — The old crooked King, *Lewis* the XI. believed sincerely that his *bon Homme*, *Franc Martotilo*², whom he brought from *Patole* in *Calabria*, could, by his Prayers, save him from Death: — And the Man who had lost the Use of his Arm, believed there was such Virtue in *Vespasian's* Foot, that if he would but tread upon his Arm, it would become whole; and was cured accordingly³. — Under *Augustus*, many People, it is true, doubted of supernatural Conceptions: but many likewise believed them; and the discrete Courtiers talked of the Emperor's Mother *Atia*, as *Dionysius* the *Halicarnassian* does of *Romulus's* Mother *Ilia's* Pregnancy by the God *Mars*.
“ What Opinion, says he, we ought to entertain
“ concerning such Stories; whether we should
“ despise them as mere Human Transactions ascri-
“ bed to God, who is incapable of any Operation
“ unworthy of his pure, incorruptible, and blessed
“ Nature; or whether we ought to receive these
“ Traditions, as believing that the Essences of

² See *Philip de Comines*.

³ *Tacit. Hist. Lib. IV*

“ every Kind of Being in the Universe are diffused
 “ throughout the Whole, and that there is an
 “ intermediate Nature betwixt the mortal and im-
 “ mortal Species, which the *Genii* or Spirits invest,
 “ and which, mixing sometimes with Gods, and
 “ sometimes with Men, begets the *Heroic Race*;
 “ I have not Time to inquire at Present, and
 “ remit the Curious to what Philosophers have
 “ said upon the Subject *.”

A Story commonly received at *Rome*, about the Birth of *Scipio Africanus*, would pave the Way for the Supernatural Conception of *Octavius*, and is thus told by two of his learned Courtiers, *Appius* and *Hyginus* *. The Mother of *Scipio Africanus* had been so long barren, that her Husband despaired of having Issue by her. But happening to sleep apart from him one Night, a huge Snake was seen stretched on her Bed the next Morning. Amidst the Cries and Terror of the People, who first beheld it, the Creature disappeared; and, upon the strictest Search, could not be found in the House. This Accident her Husband related to the *Haruspices*, as a *Prodigy*; and

* Οὕτως μὲν εἶναι χρὴ περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε δόξης ἔχειν, πότερον καὶ λαθρονεῖν ὡς ἀνθρωπίνων διανοημάτων εἰς θεοὺς ἀναφερομένων, μηδὲν ἂν τῷ θεῷ λειψήσῃ τῆς ἀφθάρτου καὶ μακαρίας φύσεως ἀνάξιον ὑπομένοντι ἢ καὶ ταύτης παραδέχεσθαι τὰς ἰσορίας, ὡς ἀνακεκραμένης τῆς ἀπάσης οὐσίας τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ μέλας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ θνητῷ γένει ὑπαρχέσης φύσεως, ἣν τὸ δαιμόνων φύλον ἐπέχει, τότε μὲν ἀνθρώποις τότε δὲ θεοῖς ἐπιμεινόμεον, ἥρῳον Φυγαί γένος, οὕτε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι διασκοπεῖν, ἀρκεῖ τε ὡς φιλοσόφοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέχθαι.

Διεννης. Ἀλικαρν. Ἀρχαίολ. βιβλ. Α.

* De Vitâ & Rebus illustrium Virorum.

after consulting the Gods by Sacrifice, they answered, That Children were portended to his Family. Accordingly, shortly after, the Lady was found to be with Child, and brought forth, in the tenth Month, this *Scipio*, who conquered *Hannibal*, and broke the Power of *Carthage* in the second *Punic War* *.

Octavius artfully permitted the Story about his Mother *Atia*'s having conceived him, not of her Husband but of the God *Apollo*, who retired from her Bed in the Form of a Snake, to be propagated through the Empire. It was not inculcated by his Friends or Ministers, and far less refuted; — but suffered to take its Chance, and operate where it might on the Belief of the People. I make no Doubt, but he and his Favorite *Mecenas* have had several Sneers in private at the loving Snake his Father, whom yet they treated with Decency in public; without breaking through the thin Veil which covers Propriety of Conduct in tender Points, and thereby constitutes both Prudence and Good-Manners. — The Persuasion would help to fill the Multitude with Admiration of their God-begotten Prince, and consequently to keep them, and the distant Provinces, which it would soon pervade, in their Duty of Obedience. — It is shrewdly observed by the acute *Lucian*, that the Story of *Olympia*'s Affair with *Jupiter Ammon* was of great Service to her Son towards carrying on his own. — In the same Manner, *Cæsar*, without affirming that

* *A. Gell. Lib. VII. § 1.*

he was the Child of *Apollo*, seemed to encourage the Opinion that he was, by affecting a particular Veneration for, not to say Imitation of, that God; and, by appropriating the Ground-Right of several Houses contiguous to his own, which had been bought up to enlarge it, to the Erection of a most magnificent Temple to his supposed Parent Deity⁷.

He certainly was much obliged to his Mother *Atia*, a Lady of Spirit and Prudence, who had given him an excellent Education; and the Tincture he retained⁸ both of her Language, which was very pure, and her polite Manners, proved no small Ornament to him in the Course of his Government.

To the Desire of imprinting in the Minds of the People a high Idea of his extraordinary Merit, and thereby fit them the better for implicit Obedience, *may* be imputed his Suffering the Provincials to erect Temples to his Father and to him. He himself had, indeed, first raised a Temple to *Julius* in *Rome*; and at the Time I am now speaking of, he consented that the People of *Asia* should

⁷ *Vell. Patere.*

⁸ Genus eloquendi secutus est elegans & temperatum.

Sueton. Octav. 86.

Ac non solum studia moresque, sed remissiones etiam Lususque Puerorum, Sanctitate quâdam ac Verecundiâ temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Cæsaris, sic Atiam Augusti Matrem præfuisse Educationibus ac produxisse Principes Liberos accepimus.

F. Quintil. de Orat. Dialog.
build

build one to him at *Ephesus*, and the *Bithynians* another at *Nice*, to pay Honors to him in the same Manner as was done at *Rome*; to corroborate which the *Romans* established in those Provinces were ordered to perform their religious Worship in these Temples, with the Natives of the Country. — Though the deceased *Cæsar* could reap no Advantage from any Homage of this Kind, it in some Measure reflected on his Son, who represented him; and, going only a single Step farther, the *Asiatics* and *Bithynians*, after building Temples to *Julius*, erected others to *Octavius*, in the Towns of *Pergamus* and *Nicodemia*. The City of *Rome*, which had been long worshipped as a Goddess^{*}, was associated with him, by his Order, in these divine Honors. The Odium which might otherwise have resulted therefrom, was by that Means taken off; though indeed the same Honors had been paid to simple Pro-Consuls[†]. He was more reserved with Regard to *Rome*, where he never suffered any Place to be consecrated for his Worship. — In the Provinces, the Contagion of Flattery, than which none is more infectious, spread so widely, that, in a short Time, nothing was seen but Temples, Solemn Games, and Sacerdotal Colleges, erected in Honor of the *Master of the Universe*[‡]; and these Temples were generally more beautiful and ornamented than those of the

^{*} *Liv.* XLIII. 6.

[†] *Suet.* Aug. § 52.

[‡] *Philo* ad Caium.

ancient Divinities, whom a modern and visible God eclipsed. The most magnificent of all was reared to *Octavius*, under the Title of *The Protector and Patron of Sailors*, by the *Alexandrians*, a People exquisite at Flattery. It stood opposite to the Haven, and was a majestic Structure, full of Donatives, Statues, Pictures, and refulgent with Silver and Gold. Without, it was adorned with Courts, Porticos, Libraries, Walks, Terraces, Groves, and Arbours, finished with the greatest Art, and at a vast Expence².

Pleasing as these Distinctions were, they flattered *Octavius* less than two other Decrees of the Senate, the Objects of which were very uncommon, and such as did him singular Honor, even for the Delight he took in them.

The first of these ordered the Temple of *Janus* to be shut, as a Token of Universal Peace: for a few Disturbances raised by the *Trevians* in *Gaul*, and the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, did not deserve the Name of a War. — The *Romans* were highly delighted with this Ceremony, which had never been performed but twice since the Foundation of the City; the first Time in the Reign of *Numa*; and the second, after the first *Punic War*. *Octavius* might therefore well be fond of the rare Honor of shutting the *Gates of War*, as *Virgil* calls them³: — Besides which, he was sensible that the Glory of restoring Peace to the Universe far excelled the Splendor of the greatest Conquests.

² *Philo. Jud. περὶ Περσῶν.*

³ *Æn. Lib. I. v. 29. & Lib. VII. v. 607.*

The other Decree renewed, after a long Interval, a pacific Ceremony called the *Augur of Safety*, which, *Dio* tells us, was a Kind of Divination, by which the *Romans* pretended to inform themselves whether the Gods approved of their requesting the Safety and Happiness of the Nation: for they did not think it lawful even to put up that Petition, unless they had previously the Permission of Heaven. The first Magistrate in *Rome* consulted *Haruspices* with this Intent *, and the Day on which he performed this religious Office, must be a Day of entire Peace, on which there was neither any Body of Troops setting out for War, nor an Enemy's Army in the Field, nor any military Preparations going on, nor Apprehensions of a Battle. This Ceremony had been performed for the last Time thirty-four Years before, in the Consulship of *Cicero*, when *Pompey* happily terminated the War against *Mithridates*. Not a Day had passed since, on which it was possible to perform the *Augur of Safety*, by Reason of the continual Wars, either foreign or domestic. This shows why *Octavius* was glad of an Opportunity to renew it. He was accordingly declared, not only verbally, but by a public Inscription †,

* *Festus*, in voc. Maximum Prætozem.

† SENATUS-POPULUSQUE. ROMANUS IMP. CÆSARI. DIVI. JULI. F. COS. QUINCT. COS. DESIG. SEXT. IMP. SEPT. REPUBLICA. CONSERVATA.

Sigon. Comm. in Fastos.

dated in his fifth Consulship, *The Saviour of the Republic*. — And in some Sense he was so; — but from what, or from whom? — From the Rapine, Barbarity, and Defolation, committed by *his own*, and *Antony's*, Ruffians, partly by their exprefs Command, partly by their Permission, over all the Provinces of the Empire: — From those Affassins who had helped him to cut the Throats of the best and worthiest of Men, to trample on the Laws and Liberty of his Country, and wallow in Debauchery and Blood.

These Evils were, however, ended *now*, and he returned to *Rome* a quite different Man. He entered the City in Triumph, and was received as the Guardian of the State, amidst the repeated Acclamations of all the People. — No Man knew better how to improve this Disposition. — He had been taught by many sad Examples, among which his Father's Fate occurred strongly to him, that the *Romans* would not be insulted with Impunity; and he well knew, that, notwithstanding all the Massacres he had committed, either in the Field or in the City, there still were Men, even of his own Party, who would not stand tamely, and see their Country destroyed. — Instead of violating the Laws, as before, he therefore took them under his Protection *now*; when it was indeed his Interest that they should be observed. — Easy of Access, and affable in Conversation, he wore a Countenance in Public, in which the Smiles and Graces strove to outshine each other. Mildness had the Ascendant, even where his Interest

dissuaded it; and the Welfare of the Empire, of which he had in a Manner the Tuition, without assuming any invidious or illegal Title, became the principal Object of his Care.

This Behaviour met with the Acknowledgment it deserved. A Garland of Grass, a Reward which was never given but to the Man who, by his Conduct or Valor, had rescued the Army or City from impending Ruin, was decreed him by the Senate. — Its value may be judged of, by the Example of *L. Siccus Dentatus*, who had fought and conquered in one hundred and thirty Battles, had received fourteen Civic Crowns, and but one of Grass. — The great *L. Sylla* received such a one from his Army.

Three Triumphs awaited the Conqueror's Return. The first was over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Japydæ*, and other neighbouring Nations, to which were joined in the Title of the Triumph, the *Morini*, a People of *Gaul*, and the *Suevi*, of *Germany*, whom his Lieutenant *Carrinas* had subdued. The second was for the Victory at *Actium*, and the third for the Conquest of *Egypt*.

We have no very accurate Description of these Triumphs: But there can be no Doubt of their having been extremely magnificent, as every Part of the then known World contributed to embellish them. With the Spoils of the vanquished, were carried Crowns and other Gifts, which the Allies of the *Romans* were accustomed to offer on such Occasions, as a Tribute of Acknowledgment and Congratulation. These were followed by the

Triumphal - Chariot of *Octavius*, whose Victory was greatly enhanced by his Youth; for he was then only entering into his thirty-fifth Year. The State - Horses were mounted, that on the right by *Marcellus*, Nephew to *Octavius*, and designed by him for his Successor, in Case he should not have Heirs of his own; and that on the left by *Tiberius*, the Son of *Livia*, then about fourteen Years of Age. After the Chariot marched the Consul *Potitus*, who had been elected in the Place of *Apuleius*; then all the Magistrates, with the Ornaments of their Dignity, and all the Senators who had followed *Octavius* in the Wars, and contributed to his Victory, clothed in their proper Robes. The Troops, distributed into Legions and Cohorts, closed the Procession. Those Officers and Soldiers, who had received Military Rewards, of whom the Number was great, carried the Signals of their Valor, the Glory of which reflected upon their General. *Agrippa* shone above all the Rest by his Sea-green Standard, which *Octavius* had given him as a Proof and Monument of his Share in the Victory at *Actium*.

Cleopatra was intended to have been the principal Ornament of the Triumph over *Egypt*, which was the most magnificent of all. The Spoils of that Kingdom were pompously displayed, and, to supply the Want of her Person, a Picture was carried, in which she was represented lying on a Bed, with an Asp fixed to her Arm. Her Children, *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, were led

Captives. Their Brother *Ptolomy* died probably after the taking of *Alexandria*.

Among the other Captives led in Triumph on this Occasion, was *Adiatorix*, Prince of *Heraclea*, (now *Elegri*) in *Pontus*, with his Wife and three Sons. — He had received his Dignity from *Antony*, and, a little before this War, had fallen upon and murdered in the Night, the *Romans*, who, as Colonists, inhabited a large Part of that City. He pretended *Antony's* Orders, or, at least, his Permission, for this Barbarity. — After the Triumph, a very rare Instance of Magnanimity appeared among the Brothers. *Cæsar* ordered that the Father and the eldest Son, *Dyteutus*, should lose their Heads. — As the Soldiers were leading them to Execution, the second Brother told them they were mistaken, for that he was the eldest. The other contradicted him, and a glorious Struggle ensued, which of them should die for the other. Neither would yield, until the miserable Parent interposed, and persuaded the elder to give up the Honor to his Brother, whose Years, he said, rendered him least fit to protect his disconsolate Mother, and her youngest Boy; and accordingly the second actually submitted to the Blow. After their Death, *Cæsar*, being informed of what had passed, was extremely moved, and, admiring their Virtue, took Care of the Survivors. He made *Dyteutus* High-Priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*. — That Dignity had been bestowed by *Julius Cæsar* upon *Lycomedes*, just before the

Pharnacian War; but he, following *Antony's* Fortunes, was now displaced *.

Adiatorix was descended from one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Gallo-Grecia*, or *Galatia*, a State founded by the great Body of *Gauls*, from about *Toulouse*, who penetrated into the lesser *Asia*, and there divided themselves into four Principalities; whence their Names *Τετραρχαι*. The chief of these were the *Tectosages*, who settled upon the Banks of the *Halys*, and rebuilt the Greek City *Ancyra*, now *Angora*, or, as the *Turks* pronounce it, *Angour*. These *Gauls* unhappily took Part with *Antiochus* against the *Romans*, and were therefore attacked by the Consul *Manlius*, as Confederates with an Enemy. They were first defeated at Mount *Olympus*, and afterwards their chief Town *Angora* was besieged and taken by the Consul. Their four *Tetarchies* were reduced by him to three, then to two, and were at last united in the Person of the Great Ally of the *Romans*, King *Deiotarus*. He was succeeded, says *M. Tournefort*, (I believe inaccurately) by his Minister and Secretary *Amyntas*; and at last *Lelius Marcus*, (perhaps *M. Lollius*) subdued all *Galatia* under *Augustus*. — *Deiotarus* joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and consequently drew upon his Country the Arms of *Antony* and *Cæsar*. — The Conquest

* Dio, L. LI. calls him *Mndeus* that was put in his Room; and, L. LIII. he calls him *Mndus*, and says that his Kingdom, the Lesser *Armenia*, was given to *Archelaus*, after his Death.

of the *Homonadenfes* cost *Augustus* great Trouble. — A noble Monument was raised to him in *An-gora*; but whether by *Amyntas*, or by the People of that City after his Death, is uncertain. It was their Town-House, or *Προλατρίον* of which a stately and elegant Vestibule still remains, the greatest Piece of Antiquity in *Asia*. — On the Sides of this grand Entry, the *Life of Augustus* was engraved in fine Language and fair Characters. It is now almost effaced, partly through Time, and much more by the Country-People forcing out the Bars of Copper, which clasped together the Marble, and thereby tearing away Letters and Words, and making great Holes in the Wall. We owe the Preservation of this noble Monument to *Antonio Veranzi*, Bishop of *Agria*, (and Ambassador from the ingenious and excellent Emperor, so ill used by the ungracious Popes, *Ferdinand II.* to *Constantinople*,) who copied it in the Year 1492, in his Passage through *An-gora*. He gave it to his Nephew *Fausto Veranzi*, who communicated it to *Charles L'Ecluse*, (*Clusius* the Botanist and Antiquarian) from whom *Leunclaius* received it. Trough his Hands it passed into *James Gruter's* great Work of Inscriptions, and from thence into *Gronovius's* Collection. — These were the People to whom *St. Paul* wrote, *Octavius's* Triumphs were beheld with Pleasure by the *Romans*, the sensible Part of whom observed a great Difference between him and *Antony*, and, as they must have a Master, thought Fortune had used them very favorably in giving

them the ablest and wisest of the two. The common People were more and more gained by his Attention to indulge them, and by his vast Munificence: — For, as I before observed, he repaid all the Money they had advanced him, and remitted the Arrears of their last Taxes. He also excused the Towns of *Italy* from furnishing Crowns, which they had been used to present to Triumphers, or any other Consideration in Lieu of them. Not content with these Proofs of Tenderness and Moderation, he added to them immense Distributions of Money. He gave four hundred Sesterces, (2 l. 7 s. 11 d.) a Head, to the lower Class of Citizens; and after bestowing this Gift in his own Name, to all who were above the Age of seventeen; he extended it to the Children in that of *Marcellus*⁷. The Soldiers, to the Number of one hundred and twenty thousand, received each of them a thousand Sesterces, (about 7 l.); and upon sending them to the Colonies, he gave large Sums to the Towns and Countries where they were settled. This Favor was not confined to *Italy* alone, but extended also to the Provinces, which had never before experienced such Kindness.

These Liberalities were a powerful Allurement; and the happy Tranquillity, which was now restored after so many Troubles and Misfortunes, disposed all Ranks of Men to love the Author of the public Felicity, and to prefer his Govern-

⁷ *Lapis Ancyr.*

ment to a tumultuous Liberty, the Source of ambitious Projects for the Great, and of Calamities for the People.

Octavius's Triumphs were celebrated in the Month of *August*^{*}, and lasted three Days; after which *Carrinas* and *Autronius Pætus* triumphed, the former over the *Morini* and the *Suevi*, and the latter over *Africa*. — *Autronius's* Exploits must not have been very inconsiderable, though we have not the Particulars of them, since *Octavius*, whose Lieutenant he was, did not comprehend him at all in his Triumph. — As to those of *Carrinas*, they adorned the Triumph of his General, before they procured the same Honor to himself. — *Dio* observes that his Father had been proscribed by *Sylla*, and that consequently the Son was excluded from all Offices and Honors by the Laws of the same Dictator. He nevertheless obtained every Thing that a *Roman* could desire; the Consulship, and a Triumph. — A farther Example of the Inconstancy of Fortune, whose various Changes produce desirable, as well as adverse Events.

The whole Month of *August* was spent in Feasts and Rejoicings. *Octavius*, after his Triumphs, dedicated a Temple to *Minerva*, another in Honor of his adoptive Father, and a grand Building, which he called the *Palace of Julius*, designed for the Assemblies of the Senate. In this Palace, he consecrated a Statue of *Victory*, which still re-

^{*} In the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXIII.

mained in the Time of *Dio*, according to whom his Intention was to signify by this Monument, that he had obtained the Right of Supreme Command by Victory and Arms. The Temple of *Minerva*, that of *Julius Cæsar*, and several others, were enriched with precious Ornaments brought from *Egypt*. Among these, a golden Statue of *Cleopatra* was erected in the Temple of *Venus*, and the Image of this Goddess was decorated with a Pair of Ear-Rings, made of a Pearl of Immense Value cut in two, Fellow to that which *Cleopatra* dissolved in Vinegar, and swallowed, in one of her mad Frolics with *Antony*. — But the greatest Part of the Riches which were the Fruits of his Victory, *Octavius* placed in the Capitol. *Dio* says he even caused a Decree to be passed in the Senate, by which all the Treasures formerly amassed there were ordered to be removed as profane and polluted, (but I cannot imagine in what Respect) in Order to make Room for his more valuable Offerings. I am apt to think this was also the Time when he made the prodigious Gift mentioned by *Suetonius*, of sixteen thousand Pound Weight of Gold, and to the Value of one hundred and fifty Millions of Sesterces (898, 538 l.) in Jewels, offered at once to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

To stamp the greater Solemnity on the Dedication of the Temple of *Julius Cæsar*, he treated the People with all Kinds of Games and Shows; Horse and Chariot-Races in the *Circus*; Combats of Gladiators, in which one *Q. Vintilius*, a Senator, was fool-hardy enough to lose his Honor,
 In Aug.

and hazard his Life ; Chases of wild Beasts brought from foreign Countries ; among which a Rhinoceros and a Sea-Horse are particularly mentioned ; and, last of all, Combats between the *Suevi* and *Daci*, the former made Prisoners by *Carrinas*, and the latter taken at *Actium* among *Antony's* Auxiliaries.

To these various Shows and Diversions, *Octavius* added one of which he himself was particularly fond, and which is elegantly described by *Virgil*¹. It was called *The Trojan Game*, and consisted of Horse-Courses, performed by the Children of the prime Nobility. They were divided into different Squadrons, according to their Age ; and, at the Games I now speak of, *Tiberius* commanded the first Squadron². — *Octavius* was pleased with this Exercise, as *Cæsar* had been before, because it encouraged the Opinion that the *Julian* Family was descended from *Æneas* ; though, in Fact, it is justly doubted whether that *Trojan* Prince ever was in *Italy*³. On this is founded an essential Difference between the two greatest Poets of Antiquity. — Homer's Tale, however embellished in its *Circumstances*, is founded on strict historical Truth. — The Genealogies of his Heroes, and his Accounts of their Families, are all consistent Facts. — No Incongruity, or clashing of Times, Persons, or Places,

¹ See *Bochart's* Dissertation.

² *Æn.* Lib. V. v. 548.

³ *Suet.* Tib. 6.

through the *Iliad* or *Odyſſey*. The ancient Authors quote his Verſes as *Proofs* of Facts with Reſpect to the exact Hiſtory of ancient *Aſia* and *Greece*. It is aſtoniſhing what vaſt Pains Virgil has taken to imitate him in this Particular, how cloſe he follows him, and labors inceſſantly to adapt his own Story to the Truth of Hiſtory. But having planned out the *Æneid* to raiſe the Honor of the *Romans* above the *Grecians*, and to flatter the *Cæſarean* Family; the Crookedneſs, if I may ſo expreſs it, of that Intention, has warped his whole Poem, and forced him to depart from hiſtorical Truth. Thus, to make the *Romans* of *Trojan* Deſcent, he brings *Eneas* into *Italy*; and to account for the Ruin of *Carthage*, he, in Hatred of the *Carthaginians*, makes him debauch its Found. reſs, who did not live till Ages after the *Trojan* War — But *Homer* has a famous Prophecy concerning *Eneas*. — That *Almighty Jove* now hated the Race of *Priam*, and that thenceforth *Eneas* ſhould reign over the *Trojans*, and after him his Children's Children, and their Poſterity. — As *Homer* lived long after the Time of *Eneas*, we can ſcarce ſuppoſe that he would keep to Truth through all the Reſt of his Poem, and depart from it on this ſole Point, a Point which he muſt have thoroughly known, as the State both of *Troy*, *Greece*, and the *Iſlands*, was conſtantly in his View, while he was ſinging their Fates, and the Achievements performed by preceding Generations in theſe Fields of Fame. — We muſt therefore neceſſarily ſuppoſe that the Arrival of the Son of *Anchiſes*, and the

Descent of the *Alban* Kings from a *Dardan* Stock; is mere Fiction: Or, if there were any Mixture of *Trojan* Blood among the Founders of *Rome*; — If the *Julian* Family came indeed originally from that Nation: — That it must have been by some later Migration; and consequently the Stories so circumstantially related by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and other Historians, of *Eneas's* Progress and Adventures, are at best apocryphal and traditionary.

During all the Time of the Games, the Senators kept open Tables, to which every one that passed by was invited, in the same Manner as was practised on other Occasions of public Festivals. — The Joy of these Feasts was however somewhat disturbed, though they were not interrupted, by an Indisposition of *Octavius*, whose Health was always very delicate. He desired that the Shows might continue, though he was not able to be present at them, and appointed others to preside in his Stead.

Not content with these temporary Rejoicings, he resolved to transmit to Posterity more lasting Monuments of a Victory, which had rendered him Master of the World. — To this End, he enlarged and embellished the Temple of *Apollo* on the Promontory of *Actium*, and increased the Splendor of the Games which had been celebrated there from Time immemorial, in Honor of that God; at the same Time ordering, probably to prevent their being abused, the common Conse-

quence of too frequent Repetitions, that, instead of being performed every third Year, as they had used to be, they should from thenceforth be celebrated only once in five Years. He inclosed with Walls the Camp he had occupied there, and formed it into a Town, which he called *Nicopolis*, the *City of Victory*. To people it, Inhabitants were transported thither from *Ambracia*, and some other neighbouring Places, which had been almost ruined by the Wars between the *Macedonians* and the *Romans* in that Country. He granted the *Nicopolitans* great Privileges, and among others that of sharing in the Council of the *Amphyctions*, an ancient and respectable Tribunal, where all *Greece* was represented by twelve Deputies of the principal States. This Town became afterwards very flourishing, and was improving daily at the Time when *Strabo* wrote. The Spot where *Octavius's* Tent had been pitched was distinguished from the Rest of the Town, being furrounded with a Wall of Hewn-Stone, adorned with Prows of Ships taken in the Engagement, and consecrated by the famous Statue of the *Actian Apollo*, mentioned before⁴, which stood in the open Air, without any Covering. — In *Egypt*, where the grand Contest had been finally decided, he built a second *Nicopolis*, upon the Ground where he fought against *Antony* before *Alexandria*, and there instituted Games like those at *Actium*.

⁴ Vol. V.

Octavius was now arrived at the Height of his Wishes. — The Methods by which he had attained them were considered in very different Lights, even by the discerning Part of his Contemporaries; of whose Sentiments, on both Sides, at the Time of his Funeral, *Tacitus* has given us the following View². “His Admirers said, That
“his filial Piety to his Father *Cæsar*, and the
“Necessity of the Republic, where the Laws no
“longer governed, had forced him into a Civil
“War, which, whatever be the first Cause, can
“never be begun or carried on by just and gentle
“Means: that, to be revenged on the Murde-
“rers of his Father, he had indeed made many
“great Sacrifices to *Antony*, and many to *Lepidus*:
“but that, when *Lepidus* was sunk in Sloth,
“and *Antony* lost in Sensuality, he found that the
“Government of one Person was the only Re-
“medy for the Misfortunes of his Country, fati-
“gued and worn out by Discords which could
“not be reconciled.” But others, who were less
disposed to judge favorably of *Octavius*, alledged
on the contrary, “That the Desire of reven-
“ging his Father, and rectifying the Disorders
“of the State, were mere Pretences; that the
“Ambition of Reigning was his real Motive;
“that, with this Spirit, he had enticed a Body
“of Veterans into his Service, by Bribery; and,
“though but a private Youth, without any
“Character of Public Authority, levied an Army.

² *Annal.* Lib. I. 9. & 10.
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“ That , with this Spirit , he had debauched and
“ bought the *Roman* Legions under the Consuls ,
“ while he was falsely feigning a Coalition with
“ *Pompey's* republican Party : that , soon after ,
“ when he had surreptitiously procured from the
“ Senate , or rather usurped , the Honors and
“ Authority of the Pretorship ; and when *Hirtius*
“ and *Pansa* , the two Consuls , were slain , he
“ seized both their Armies ; that it was doubted
“ whether the Consuls fell by the Enemy , or
“ whether *Pansa* was not killed by pouring Poi-
“ son into his Wounds , and *Hirtius* murdered
“ by his own Soldiers ; and whether the young
“ *Cæsar* was not the Contriver of this bloody
“ Treason. That he had extorted the Consulship
“ by Terror , in Spite of the Senate ; and turned
“ against the Commonwealth the very Arms , with
“ which the Commonwealth had intrusted him
“ for her Defence against *Antony*. That his cruel
“ Proscriptions , and the Massacre of so many
“ Citizens ; his seizing from the Public , and
“ distributing to his own Creatures , so many
“ Lands and Possessions , a Violation of Property ,
“ not so much as pretended to be justified even
“ by those who gained by it , could certainly ad-
“ mit of no Kind of Excuse. That his sacrificing
“ the Lives of *Brutus* and *Cassius* to the Manes
“ of the Dictator , might be forgiven him , though
“ it would have been more to his Honor to have
“ let the public Good prevail over his personal
“ Enmities ; but that he had betrayed the young
“ *Pompey* by an insidious Peace , and *Lepidus* by

“ a false Show of Friendship. That his Conduct
“ had been the same with Regard to *Antony*, whom
“ he had deceived, first by the Treaties of *Taren-*
“ *tum* and *Brundisium*, and then by the Marriage
“ of his Sister *Octavia*; a fraudulent Alliance,
“ which, at last, cost him his Life.”

Widely different as these two Opinions are, there is Truth in both; especially in the last, which speaks *Octavius's* real Design in arming against his Country. — He had now subdued it, and was become sole Master of the whole *Roman* Empire; whilst his artful Management, and the Appearances of Moderation which he put on, seemed to promise him Security in his Usurpation: for he had absolutely gained the two most numerous Bodies in the Empire. The Soldiers he had bribed with immense Donatives, both of Money and Lands; their Possession of which depended on his continuing in Power. The common People he cajoled with public Shows, Entertainments, Distributions of Corn, and a *Form* of their old Privileges. It was no longer the same impatient, independent Race, that had struggled with the Patricians for their Share of Power, and with all Nations for Conquest. — It was an idle, venal, prating Crew, that loved to saunter in the Forum, and frequent the Theatres, to talk about Players, Racers, Gladiators; or canvass the Conduct of a Leader, at Home, without ever making a Campaign themselves. Such a Multitude was

easily soothed by the artful *Cæsar*. Nor did it, in Reality, make a great Difference to such dastardly Creatures how they were governed, whether by legal Magistrates, or illegal Usurpers. — Give them but their Shows in the Theatre and Circus, and monthly Supply of Provisions, it was all one to the degenerate Mob. — But there was a third Body in the State, which deeply felt the Change; being stript of the most glorious Rights which Birth and Rank bestow upon Men. These were the young Nobility, the *Merits* of whose Ancestors had, besides the general Privilege of being born Free, acquired an acknowledged Claim to the first Honors at Home, and the consequent Commands of Kings and Kingdoms abroad. They now found themselves quite sunk and depressed; in Effect little better than Slaves. — No Access to Power or Places but through the Pleasure of one Man, formerly their *Equal*, now their Lord: — No Respect abroad; no Clientships of Princes or Provinces; no Laurels to be gathered in distant Climes, but by the arbitrary Direction of an arrogant Master. — Men like these might justly make *Octavius* tremble, when he reflected on the Steps by which he had attained his exorbitant Power. The Fate of his Uncle Julius, killed in the Midst of the Senate, by the very Persons whom he thought most devoted to him, might well be continually present to his Mind, and make him fear the Rise of another Brutus, who, to restore Liberty to his Country, would think it a meritorious Act to

stab him on a Throne: — For, he was now revolving in his own Mind, whether he should not even declare himself the King of those whose Tyrant he had been from the very Beginning of the *Triumvirate*. These Apprehensions of Danger, which his *natural* Propensity to *Fear* was far from lessening, abated for a While the Fire of his Ambition, and made him resolve to set about artfully obtaining the Sanction of the Nation for a Continuance of the Power which he had hitherto most unjustly exercised. His first Pretence for taking Arms, to revenge the Murder of his Uncle and adoptive Father, was now at an End. *Antony's* Attempts to rival him, which were alledged afterwards as a Reason for continuing in Arms, could no longer be pleaded, since *Antony* was dead; and all the Terms fixed for the Duration of the *Triumvirate* had long been expired³. For at least three Years past *Octavius* had exercised the supreme Power, in Virtue only of the Consular Magistracy, in which he had taken Care to be continued. But now, with that refined Cunning which directed all his Actions, he resolved to *feign* a Desire to abdicate the Authority of Government, as a Step by which he should remove all Imputation of Insincerity, and of which he knew Creatures were numerous enough to prevent the actual Execution.

To give this Farce the greater Air of Sincerity, he began with privately consulting his two chief Ministers, and most intimate Friends, *Agrippa* and

³ Suet. §. XXVIII.

Mecenas; desiring them to give him their candid Opinion, whether he should restore the Commonwealth to its ancient State, or retain the sovereign Power. — Wild and preposterous! to talk of restoring the ancient Commonwealth, after he himself had destroyed the genuine *Romans*, and extinguished their Spirit. It was like first murdering a brave Man, mangling his Corpse, and then trying to bring him to Life. The real Revival of the ancient Spirit and Manners would soon have sent him and his Court to keep Company with *Tarquin the Proud*, or *Julius the Usurper*. Forms, therefore, the Show and Phantom of the old Republic, were all that could be recalled; nor could even they be preserved but for a While: For never did a Crew of more fawning obsequious Slaves disgrace a Nation, than this Man left to his Tyrant Successor, for a Senate.

The long Speeches which *Dio** puts into the Mouths of *Agrippa* and *Mecenas* at this Consultation about laying down the Government, are undoubtedly feigned[†] by that malevolent Writer. The Truth is that *Agrippa*, sensible of that Glory only which is acquired by great Actions, openly declared for a generous Abdication. He set before *Octavius* all the Dangers which attended a Domination insupportable to a free People; to Men educated in a Commonwealth; and, after instan-

* Lib. XLII.

† Such was also the Opinion of the learned *Lipsius*.
Excurs. ad *Tac. Annal.* Lib. III.

cing the Examples of *Sylla* and *Julius*, exhorted him to show the Universe, by restoring *Liberty* to his Country, that the only Motive for his taking up Arms had really been to revenge his Father's Death.

But *Mecenas*, without expatiating much on the brilliant Parts of a Crown, took *Octavius* by his Foible, *Fear*, and represented to him, That he had done too much to go back; that, after so much Bloodshed, there could be no Safety for him but on the Throne; and, that if he divested himself of the sovereign Power, he would immediately be attacked and pursued by the Children and Friends of the many illustrious Persons, whom the Misfortune of the Times had forced him to sacrifice to his Safety.

The Abbé de *St. Real* observes, that each of these Ministers spoke according to his own particular Interest. *Agrippa*, a brave Warrior, of consular Dignity, and judged worthy of triumphal Honors, would have held the first Place in a Republic. — *Mecenas*, a Man of Letters, an elegant Writer, and an experienced Courtier, could not expect to shine, or make a great Figure, but under the Protection of a Prince, who should place an entire Confidence in him. — This Observation, somewhat malicious, is not supported by any ancient Authority; and its Author may, perhaps, not be the fittest Person to give it Weight. Though very sensible in many Things, he is apt to be too bold in his Criticisms, is fond of Paradoxes, and apparently inclined to praise whatever contemporary

Historians have thought blamable, and to blame what they have praised.

Octavius had taken his Resolution before he consulted his Ministers, whom he thanked equally for this new Proof of their Zeal and Fidelity in speaking their Minds so freely. He then declared in Favor of *Mecenas's* Advice, modelled in such Manner as might screen him from the Charge of Violence and Usurpation. — The Story of his having Recourse to *Virgil*, in his State of Irresolution, whether to keep or resign his Power, is probably feigned, in Order to do Honor to the Poet. Had it been told of *Varius*, a Man of Business and Activity, as well as Learning, it would have been more plausible. That *Cæsar* admired *Virgil's* sublime Versification, and loved his Modesty, I make no Doubt; but he had lived too far from *Affairs*, and was too much a *Bard* to be an Oracle in Politics, and consulted on the most tender and weighty Point that could possibly be started in the Course of a great Monarch's Life. — The Man who refused a forfeited Estate offered him by the Prince, who has placed *Marcellus* as supreme Judge in Heaven, to give Laws to the Just, and determine the Rewards and Punishment of Good and Bad, could scarce advise *Octavius* to enslave his native Country.

The Rest of *Octavius's* fifth Consulship, and the whole of his sixth, were spent in fitting the Minds of Men, and the Circumstances of Things, for the intended Change. Games and Shows of all Sorts, Gifts and Generosities to the People,

public Buildings for the Ornament of the City, were Arts which he began to practise some Years before, and continued in these, to make his Government be the better relished. The restoring of the Senate to its ancient Lustre, by clearing it of a Number of unworthy and unqualified Members, who had crept in during the Confusion of the Civil Wars, and were a Disgrace to the Majesty of that august Body, now became a particular Object of his Care: nor could he take a Step more pleasing to judicious Men, or better calculated either for the public Welfare, or his own private Advantage: For whilst he was thus forming a good Council, able to assist him in the Fatigues of Government, his real Design still remaining secret, he might seem to act in Consequence of a Desire to abdicate his Power, and to put the Republic in a Situation to do without him.

In Fact, a thorough Reformation of the Senate was greatly wanted. The Dictator *Cæsar* first lessened its Dignity, by admitting into it, without Distinction of Birth, Rank, or hardly of Country, Men whose sole Merit often was their having served him in the Execution of his wicked Deeds. The Evil increased under the Consulship of *Mark Antony*, who would sell a Seat in the Senate to any Purchaser that offered⁶; and as he pretended to act in Consequence of certain written Instructions, found among *Julius's* Papers after his Death, the Senators thus made were called out of Deri-

⁶ *Plut. in Anton.*

sion, *Charonites*⁷, or Senators of *Pluto's* Creation, because they owed their Elevation to a dead Man. The first lawless Triumvirate carried this Abuse, as well as every other, to an enormous Height: For, instead of three hundred, at which the Number of Senators had been fixed from the Days of the Elder *Tarquin* to those of *Sylla*; they amounted to above fifteen hundred in the Times of this last and of *Julius Cæsar*, and now exceeded a Thousand; the Rest having perished in the Wars. *Octavius* would gladly have reduced them to their original Number: but as that could not be attempted without too much Difficulty and Danger, he resolved to bring them down only to six hundred, agreeable to the last Law made in this Respect. Upwards of four hundred were consequently to be divested of their Dignities: a Task neither easy nor safe, especially just at the Close of a Civil War, when the Minds of Men were yet in a Ferment, accustomed to Intrigues, Conspiracies, Murders, and ready to recur instantly to the most violent Extremities. — However, such was the Importance of this Reformation, that it even outweighed *Octavius's* Fears; and he himself assisted by the noble-minded *Agrippa*, who was ever ready to help him to preserve the Power he had not been able to prevail on him to resign, drew up a new List of such as were most proper to be continued Members of the first Assembly in the World. — He proceeded in this Work, not

⁷ *Sueton.* in Aug. § XXXV.

as Cenfor, for, I know not why, he never took upon him that Office, but as Superintendant and Reformer of the Laws and Manners; a Title first invented for the Dictator *Cæsar*.

The great Difficulty was how to make this Regulation pass with those that were to be excluded; — how to correct its Bitterness by proper Palliatives. This required all *Octavius's* Art, with the Help of which he happily succeeded. An Exhortation to the Senators in general, without pointing at any in particular, requesting that such among them as were conscious of the Impropriety of their sitting at the Head of the Nation, would do themselves Justice, immediately produced fifty voluntary Resignations. These were highly commended, and this first Success enabled him, either by Authority or by pressing Solicitations, to make a hundred and forty more follow their Example. Some honorary Privileges of the senatorial Dignity were continued to them all; but with a Distinction in Favor of those who had modestly resigned without any Sort of Compulsion.

I do not know whether *Octavius* carried this Reformation any farther now. *Dion* says nothing more, unless it be, that he forced one *Q. Statilius* to give up the Office of Tribune of the People. Probably the Fear of making too great a Number of Malecontents at a Time, when it was essentially his Interest to be well with every one, might stop him for the present: but he resumed the same Design twelve Years after, and then completed it. His extraordinary Precautions while this Affair was

in Agitation, show how great he thought the Danger: for he never went to the Senate-house, during the whole Time, but with a Coat of Mail under his usual Garment, and accompanied by ten of the strongest, and most trusty Senators, who formed a Guard around his Person whilst he presided. His Name was placed at the Head of the List of Senators, and he took the Title of *Prince of the Senate*: a Title without Functions; but pleasing, as it called to Mind some Idea of the ancient Republic, of which he affected to preserve a Resemblance, whilst he was destroying the Reality.

No Man ever followed more closely than the artful *Octavius* a System of Conduct once judged suitable to his Interest. His present Aim being to keep up all the outward Appearances of the republican Forms, whilst he in Fact settled himself more and more in a monarchical Authority, he took particular Care in his sixth Consulate, which he entered on in the Beginning of the Year of Rome, DCCXXIV, to imitate in many Things a Consul of the old Commonwealth. He shared the Fasces with his Colleague *Agrippa*, and took the usual Oath at the Expiration of his Office; in which he afterwards continued himself the five following Years, that he might have a legal Title to be at the Head of the Republic.

One Part of his secret Plan was to advance *Agrippa* so that he might be a Support to him. With this View he married him to his Niece *Marcella*, Sister to young *Marcellus*. History does

not say whether *Agrippa* was a Widower, or whether, to contract this Alliance, he repudiated *Pomponia*, by whom he had a Daughter, married to *Tiberius*.

It seems indeed as if both *Mecenas* and *Agrippa* married in the Year 723. *Mecenas* to his first and only Wife, and *Agrippa* to his second; which last Event may account for the jocular Conclusion of one of *Horace's* Odes^a, addressed to that great and grave Minister. — *Cornelius Gallus* had surely not offended *Octavius* when he made him Governor of *Egypt*. Therefore *Agrippa* had not then divorced *Atticus's* Daughter, and her Gallant, *Q. Cecilius Epirota*, had not been received into *Gallus's* Family, which was the chief Crime laid to his Charge. — Now *Atticus* died on the last Day of *February*, 722; and *Cæsar* had contracted his Son-in-Law *Tiberius* to *Agrippa's* Daughter, *Atticus's* Grand-Child, at least a Year or two before *Atticus's* Death: She must therefore have been a mere Infant at that Time; for *Agrippa* was not married to his first Wife till after the Peace of *Brindisi* in 716; by Means of *Antony*, then Husband to *Octavia*, and if she brought him a Daughter the first Year, the Bride could be scarce a Year, old when the Marriage-Contract was passed, and the Bridegroom must have been about seven or eight, if born, as is generally thought, on the 14th of *November*, 712. — This Marriage was, (which rarely happens in such Cases,) afterwards consummated. *Vipsania* bore him a Son. They

^a Lib. I. Carm. 6.

were mutually happy, — when political Reasons tore them asunder, and *Tiberius*, upon *Agrippa's* Death, was forced to marry *Julia*.

Every Part of *Octavius's* Conduct now tended visibly to the public Good. His sixth Consulship was distinguished by signal Acts of Prudence, Wisdom, and Generosity. Many Senators, whose Fortunes were not answerable to their Rank, Merit, and distinguished Birth, were liberally assisted by the Young *Cæsar*, who, by this Means, preserved to the Republic one of its considerable Magistracies, the *Curule Edility*, for which there had been but few Candidates of late, and sometimes none at all. — It was excessively expensive, on Account of the Games and Shows, with which the Ediles were in a Manner obliged to treat the People, in Order to gain their Favor: but as that Favor was no longer of any Service towards making a Fortune, or obtaining Promotion in the State, since the Alterations in the Government; an Office so burdensome, and no Way advantageous, was generally declined; insomuch that, more than once, *Rome* being without Ediles, the Pretors had been obliged to officiate in their Stead. The public Treasure, which had hitherto been kept by the Questors, from whose Youth great Inconveniencies had often resulted (for the Questorship was the first Office through which the *Roman* Youth passed, in Order to attain higher Dignities,) was now put into the more proper Hands of two ancient Pretors, under whom the Questors were, probably, continued in Places of considerable

Honor, though of less important Trust. But this just Care of the Finances of the State never degenerated into private Hardship or Oppression: — On the contrary, *Octavius* remitted all the Debts then due to the public Treasury, and even burnt the Vouchers for them. To crown the whole, he magnanimously confessed the iniquitous Tyranny of the Triumvirate, and, by one Edict, annulled and abolished all the Acts of those unhappy Times, all that himself and his Colleagues in the Triumvirate had done and ordained unto the Time of his Sixth Consulship, which he intended to make the *Æra* of the Renewal of the Laws, of good Order, and of public Happiness.

Having thus made the *Romans* sensible how much a well-regulated Monarchy was preferable to a turbulent Liberty, and shown them how much the Happiness of the State depended on his Government; he thought he might safely venture on such farther Steps as were necessary to give a legal Sanction to the Authority he had usurped, and hitherto maintained by Force. He wished to owe it to the unanimous Consent of those over whom it was to be exercised; and therefore, secure as he now was of the Affections of the People, he resolved to trust the Issue of his grand Design to a public Declaration of his *pretended* Desire to resign the supreme Power. This he put in Execution in the very Beginning of his seventh Consulship, when the illustrious *Agrippa* was again his Colleague.

On the seventh of *January* in the Year of

Rome, DCCXXV, having communicated his Design to some of the Senators on whom he could most depend, he went to the Senate-house, and formally declared that he abdicated the supreme Power, and restored it to the Senate and Roman People, to whom it of Right belonged. He read, to this Purpose, as was his Custom, a Speech, certainly not like that which *Dion* gives him, full of haughty Arrogance, frivolous Vanity, and an Affectation of pompous Expressions, ill suiting the Character of *Octavius*, who always aimed at Solidity, and despised empty Sounds. — The more he was sensible that the Step he was taking might be suspected, the more he endeavoured to appear sincere. He spoke the Language of a Man who really intended to abdicate; exhorted the Senators to make a proper Use of the Power, which he restored to them; and ended with wishing and foretelling Prosperity to their Government. — Those, who were in the Secret, applauded; the Rest were greatly embarrassed. The Clear-sighted saw through the Mystery, but dared not speak. Of those who thought *Octavius* meant what he said, some were pleased, and glad to think they were going to be freed from the Yoke of Servitude: Others, whose Fortune depended on the Family of the *Cæsars*, or who, weary of Troubles and civil Discord, wished only for Peace and Public Tranquillity, all Hopes of which centered in *Octavius*, were really afflicted to think of his Resigning, lest their Country should be re-plunged
into

into those Miseries from which he alone had been able to deliver it.

Amidst this Diversity of Opinions, all agreed in pressing him earnestly to desist from a Resolution so fatal to the public Repose. — Many Arguments were not necessary: — He soon yielded; but, at the same Time, annexed to his Consent certain Restrictions, which, while they added a Show of Modesty, were no Way prejudicial to his well-combined ambitious Plan.

Declaring then, that out of Deference to the Will of the Senate, so strongly urged, he undertook the general Direction of the Affairs of the Republic, he added, that his Intention was not to bear singly all the Weight of Government, but to share the Provinces with the Senate and People; so that some should be under their immediate Direction, and the Rest under his. In this Division, he expressed a Readiness to take to his Share, such as were most liable to Tumults and Seditions, and the Frontiers exposed to Incursions from foreign Enemies, leaving to the Senators those whose peaceful State would let them enjoy the Sweets of Command, without its Uneasinesses and Alarms. — A specious Pretence to have all the Forces of the Empire at his Disposal; whilst the Senate, having the Care only of unarmed Countries, would be without Troops, and consequently not able to give him any Umbrage. — All the Provinces were split into a great many more Prefectures and Governments than

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had been formerly, when they were under the Consular Jurisdiction. — It was also safer for him, that no great Man should have the Command of such rich Countries, as the Proconsuls and Pretors had before. — To his own Provinces he sent Governors of what Quality, and with what Powers, he pleased; but those of the People were intrusted to none but Men of the Pretorian or Consular Dignity. These last were only Civil Magistrates, whilst the former, though called no more than Pro-Pretors, were invested with a military Authority. — The Provinces in the Department of the Senate were, *Africa*, that is to say, the Country around *Carthage* and *Utica*; *Numidia*; *Asia* properly called, comprehending the ancient Kingdom of *Pergamus*; *Greece*, then more commonly called *Achaia*; *Dalmatia*; *Macedonia*; *Sicily*; *Crete* and *Cyrene*; *Bithynia* and *Pontus*; *Sardinia* and *Corfica*: and in *Spain*, *Bætica*: The Governors or Prefects of these Provinces were appointed in the old Course, after a gradual Rise through the Dignities and Magistracies of the Commonwealth. *Octavius* reserved to himself the Rest of *Spain*, divided into two Provinces, *Tarragon* and *Lusitania*: all *Gaul*, comprehending the *Narbonnese* and *Celtic*, which then began to be called the *Lyonnese*; *Aquitania*; *Belgia*; and the Upper and Lower *Germany*, that is to say the Country on the left of the *Rhine*, from about *Basle* down to the Mouth of that River. *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Egypt*, and the Island of *Cyprus*, fell also to his Lot in the East. To all these *Cæsar*

named his own Governors or Lieutenants , and often exchanged one or more of them with the People , as suited his Views or Conveniency.

Italy is not mentioned in this Account , because it was not considered as a Province , but as the Queen and Mistress of all the Provinces , and continued to be governed as before. All its Inhabitants were Citizens of *Rome* ; and each People , each Town , had its Magistracy , who , in Affairs of more than ordinary Moment , had Recourse to the Senate and Magistrates of *Rome* , or to the Head of the Empire. Nor are the Countries not immediately under the Domination of the Republic included here : For the whole Empire comprehended several Cities and Nations which were free ; and Kings , such as *Herod* in *Judea* , and *Juba* in *Mauritania*. These Kings and Nations were not reputed Subjects , though they were dependent on the *Romans* , and lived under their Protection. In succeeding Times , all these Countries were by Degrees reduced into Provinces , and usurped by the Emperors.

Such was *Octavius's* first artful Reserve , with Respect to the unbounded Power now given him by the Senate. To this he added , but still with the same Intent , another Limitation , equally calculated to blind those who did not know him thoroughly. He would not accept the Power of Government for more than ten Years ; and protested , with his usual Sincerity , that if he should be so happy as to restore the Affairs of the Re-

public in a shorter Time, he would not wait the Expiration of that Term to resign. — But these were only Promises; little regarded by *Cæsar*, when his Interest was at Stake. At the End of the ten Years, he found Means to be continued in the supreme Authority, sometimes for five, sometimes for ten Years more, and, in that Manner, kept it all his Life. — His Successors, who came to the Empire without any Limitation of Time, retained some Marks of these decennial Renewals, by celebrating solemn Feasts every ten Years, as for a Continuation of the Sovereignty in their Persons.

The Division of the Provinces between *Octavius* and the Senate was settled on the 13th. of *January*, and on the 17th. he received the Appellation of *Augustus*. — *Plancus*, undoubtedly in Concert with him, first proposed it, and the Senate solemnly conferred it on him. — He was not sorry to take a new Name, which, at the same Time that it was a Title of great Distinction, implying something sacred, and, as it were, allied to the Deity, was neither odious, nor favoured of Tyranny, and might help to obliterate the Remembrance of the past Deeds of *Octavius*. He once thought of *Romulus*. as a Name proper to create Respect for him, as for a second Founder of *Rome*. — But *Romulus*, was a despotic King, who had drawn upon himself the Anger and Revenge of the Senate: — Ideas which it was by no Means advisable to awake. The highest Title he ever took to himself was that of Prince, which,

in the Commonwealth, signified the Man, who, by his Merit, and other Circumstances, had the greatest Influence upon the public Affairs; the *first* or *prime* Man of the Community'. — This Name was legal, or rather customary; the greatest and truest Friends to their Country having borne it one after another¹.

The old Roman Spirit, quashed by *Marius* and *Sylla*, mangled by *Crassus*, *Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, and extinguished by *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and *Octavius*, was now quite effaced, and the Affairs of the Empire assumed a new Face. — Though a Series of Injustice, Cruelty and Oppression, had silenced the Laws, and overpowered the Struggles of expiring Liberty; yet the *Rights* of the Senate and People still remained, ready to assert their Claims whenever that Violence should cease. — But now, to such Lengths had the artful *Octavius* led them by Degrees, they themselves voluntarily sealed the Ruin of the *Common - Wealth* and finally rivetted the Chains he had long been preparing for them. — The Edict of the 7th. of *January*, by which the Senate divested itself of the Administration of the supreme Power, and transferred it to the *Usurper*, crowned his Wishes,

¹ *Cuncta, nomine Principis, sub imperium accepit.*
Tacit. Lib. I.

² When young, and during the Time of his being Colleague with *Antony*, he struck several Medals with the bare Inscription, *Divi F.* wanting to be known as *Julius's* Son, rather than under any other Designation; and commonly put it after his Name, before his other Titles.

by giving him the long - desired Sanction of an universal Consent, and ended the Existence of the *Roman Republic*. For, though Historians are silent on this Head, there is no Room to doubt, but that this Decree of the Senate was confirmed by the Suffrages of the People, solemnly assembled. *Octavius* was too wary and circumspect to omit so essential a Formality; and, indeed, I am strongly of Opinion, that the famous *Royal Law*, by which the whole Power of the Senate and People was transferred to the Emperors, was first passed on this very Occasion².

² It is not, indeed, expressly said by any Author, that this *Lex Regia*, or *Royal Law*, mentioned in *Justinian's Digest* (a), was passed in a solemn Assembly of the People. — *Gravina* (b) has recorded a considerable Fragment of the Act by which all the Powers that *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and *Claudius* enjoyed, were given to *Vespasian*; and many of the Learned have thought that this Act, which was renewed on every Occasion of a new Emperor, is the *Royal Law* in Question. But, as the People had scarce any Kind of Share in the Administration after *Tiberius*, it is much more likely, that the Act by which the Empire was conferred on *Vespasian*, was only a Decree of the Senate. I allow it to be true, that no ancient Record remains to prove that the People conferred the supreme Authority on *Augustus*: but the Fact ought not to be rejected for that Reason, and the Conjecture on which I build surpasses a bare Probability. What sets it beyond all Doubt, is, that when *Augustus*, three Years before his Death, raised *Tiberius* to an Equality of Power with himself, *Velleius* says expressly (c), that this

(a) Præf. I. Dig. § 7. et Lege quod principi, I. Digest. de Conflit. Princ.

(b) De Imperio Romano.

(c) Lib. II. c. 3.

B O O K XIV.

*R*OME, and the dependent Provinces, had been long in a tumultuous, fluctuating, and exhausted State, agitated and torn by Ambition and its Attendants, and uncertain who, at last, would be their Master. — This grand Point was now determined, and the Eyes of the World were once more fixed upon a *Cæsar*. — Weary of the cruel and inhuman Struggle, Men were glad to think of Tranquillity and Peace on any Terms. — But what was, in some Respects, happy for the People of those Times, may, perhaps, prove tiresome to the Readers of their History. The Subject is now quite varied. No more grand Preparations for Wars, Shocks of Parties or Passions, or interesting Stories of Dangers and Escapes: No more glorious Struggles for Liberty and Laws, nor generous Sacrifices for the public Weal. The Uniformity of an absolute Government, Court-Stories and Intrigues, Suspensions, Accusations, Trials, and other Concomitants of peaceful Times in a new-modelled State, will

was done by the Authority of the Senate and Roman People, and *Suetonius* (d) mentions a Law passed on that Occasion by the Consuls.

Ulricus Huber is certainly wrong in Pretending (e) that the Supreme Power despotic was given to *Augustus* immediately after his Return from conquering *Antony*.

(d) *Tib.* § 21.

(e) *Digressiones Justinianæ.* Lib. I. c. 25. 27.

be the principal Topics of the ensuing Part of these *Memoirs*. — Though the old Spirit does not yet so entirely and suddenly vanish, but that the Remains of it may still, sometimes, afford Entertainment. — It is not instantly that a Nation, once haughty and imperious, is brought to implicit Humility and Obedience.

Julius Cesar's Rebellion against his Country, and the Rapine and Forfeitures which followed his Success, gave the first Shock to the Laws, and made Property precarious through the Empire. But the ensuing Tyranny of the Triumvirs, the horrid Proscription, and the final Disaster at *Philippi*, annihilated Justice, and substituted the Sword of the Veterans in the Place of the Twelve Tables, and the Pretor's Curule Chair. Violence had reigned over the World for upwards of fifteen Years: the Ideas of Right and Wrong seemed to be effaced, and every Tool of the Triumvirs, — every bold Ruffian in their Legions, possessed what he could by Murder, Rapine, Cozenage, and Extortion from his Betters. These Scenes of Misery were spread through every Province; and there was scarce a private Family in the Empire, but felt the universal Scourge, and had Reason to curse the Day on which Julius and his three Disciples were born. — But now, Law and Right began to resume their Authority: — Property became again stable and secure.

Many ingenious Men, particularly *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, and other Foreigners, who have been brought up under Monkish Tutors,

Jesuits and *Friars*, talk wildly of the *Roman Affairs* (for of the *Greek* they know little,) for no other Reason than that they have drawn their Notions of them from strange Sources. They are generally taught a Compend of the *Roman History*, compiled by some reverend Scribe, and peep into some of the *Roman Authors*, especially Poets; after which they are hurried away, for their greater Advantage, to the more edifying and instructive Study of the *Latin Fathers* and modern *Casuits*. — Thus you shall find a Man of Sense in Business, who would be ashamed to quote any but the most approved Authors of his own or neighbouring Nations, gravely producing Scraps of such judicious and important Persons, as *Tertullian*, *Augustin*, and *Arnobius*, to support their Opinion about Roman Affairs. — Such is the squint-eyed Direction of Gentlemen's Studies, when committed to the Popish Clergy. — They want, by all Means, to turn the Attention of Men from Life and Nature, and especially from great and magnanimous Life, and its Perfection Liberty.

The learned *Abbé Vertot* makes the whole Life of *Augustus* proceed upon an uniform Plan of Politics, laid down long before Hand, just after *Cæsar's* Death, when he was but eighteen, and steadily pursued by him through the Rest of his Life. — That to this Plan he owed his Grandeur, and to no Contingencies, or Series of Events, which contributed to his Exaltation. — But this is pure Illusion, — [a fine] Dream, built

upon the Result of a thousand unforeseen Events, not one of which it was in the Youth's Power to hinder or procure.

After the Battle of *Actium*, and the Reduction of *Alexandria*, *Mecenas's* chief View was to preserve the Life of the Conqueror, and render his Government durable, by making it mild, and raising his Reputation above the Rest of Mankind. For the first, he had Spies in all Corners, to pry into every Assembly, and watch the Motions of the People; and for the second, he had Orators, Poets, and Historians; whilst *Augustus*, dreading his Father's Fate, trembled at the Thought of the Ides of *March*. — Every Heir of a noble Family might be a second *Brutus*; and, in Effect, *Antony*, more bold and less selfish, had often reproached him, That it was *his* Fault alone that the Republic was not restored.

Upon his Return, therefore, from completing his Conquest of *Antony*, and in settling the Affairs of the Empire, instead of appearing more haughty and assuming than before, he took the same Step as the *Norman* Conqueror did after his Victory, which was to take a solemn Oath to govern according to the established Laws.

Great States, as well as private Men, are apt to run from one Extreme to another. — The Hypocrisy and Preciseness affected by the Faction which wrested the Government out of the Hands of the Parliament in 1642, and the Mischiefs which ensued, had almost thrown this Nation into Irreligion and Slavery after the Restoration.

— Just so the Cruelty and Violence under which the *Romans* had groaned during the Course of a long and dreadful civil War, made them willing to bear with *any* Diminution of their Privileges, and sit down contented with *any* Sort of Government, rather than be again plunged into the same Misery.

In this Spirit, they by Degrees gave away what remained of their Liberty, if any Thing yet remained beyond the bare Name, in complimenting the new Monarch, (for such *Augustus* was now become in *Fact*, though he artfully avoided being called such) with every Title of Distinction, whether merely honorary, or accompanied with real and extraordinary Power. — He was declared *Imperator* (from whence our Word *Emperor*); not in either of the limited Senses in which it had been used in the Time of the Republic, when it denoted only a General of an Army, or, at most, a victorious Chief; but as *Generalissimo* of all the Forces of the Empire, and Head of all other Commanders, who were only his Lieutenants. A Power which no Citizen had ever enjoyed, at least so fully, while the Commonwealth subsisted. *Pompey* came the nearest to it, when, in the War against the Pirates, he received the Command of all the maritime Forces of the *Romans*, and of all the Seas; to which was afterwards added, in the War with *Mithridates*, the Command of all the Armies in the East. *Augustus* might, indeed, have instanced this, to show that the Dignity conferred on him

was not absolutely new and unprecedented ; to which he might likewise have added , that the Power he was now invested with , of governing distant Provinces and Armies by only sending his Orders to them , had been exercised , particularly in Regard to *Spain* ; by the same Patriot , who , without quitting *Rome* , or at least *Italy* , had governed that great Province , and all the Legions in it , as Pro- Consul and Commander in chief , by his Lieutenants , *Afranius* , *Petreibus* , and *Varro*.

The Emperor was absolute in all military Affairs. He alone could make War or Peace , and levy Men and Money. The Sword was in his Hand , and he swayed it over every Individual in the Empire. This Title , to which such vast Prerogatives were annexed , soon came to be considered as a particular and special Mark that the sovereign Power was vested in *Augustus* and his Successors ; but , being quite military , it showed that the Origin of this new Government was founded in Force of Arms. The Soldiery were too sensible of this ; and too soon availed themselves of it , to commit the most enormous Crimes. “ Thus , ” says one of the most illustrious of the Prelates of *France* , “ as the Republic “ had its unavoidable Weakness in the Jealousy “ between the People and the Senate ; so the Dominion of the *Cæsars* had its Foible , in the “ Licentiousness of the Soldiery who made them “ *Cæsars* .” — *Augustus* endeavoured to remedy

’ *Bossuet* , Hist. Univers.

this Evil, by seeming to make the Army subordinate to the Laws: for his receiving from the Senate the Right of commanding *their* Armies was an Acknowledgment that the civil Power was superior to the military. — But the Reality appeared through this flimsy Disguise.

The General of an Army used to have at his Command one *Pretorian* Cohort, made up of his Friends, young Volunteers of noble Families, and trusty Persons noted for their Bravery and Attachment to the Consul or Pretor, whose Guard they were, and about whose Person they fought: — but they never dared to set their Foot in *Rome* without Permission of the Senate. It was during the civil Wars, when all Order was overthrown, that they were first quartered in the City; — and the Generals (military Tyrants) increased the *Pretorian* Cohorts, so far, that *Augustus* had no less than nine of them in *Rome*, as Props of his illegal Power. To these Ruffians, who proved afterwards the Pest and Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, the Senate now officiously ordered double Pay, to encourage them the more zealously and faithfully to watch over the Safety of their *Prince*.

The conscript Fathers likewise ordered, that the Gate of his Palace should be constantly adorned with a Laurel, and over that a civic Crown; as a public Acknowledgment of Gratitude towards the Conqueror of the Enemies of the State, and the Preserver of its Citizens².

² There are still extant some Coins of *Augustus*, with the double Symbol of the Laurel and Civic Crowns, and the Legend OB CIVEIS SERVATOS.

One of the Months of the Year had already received a new Name, in Honor of the Dictator *Julius*. The same Distinction was now decreed in Favor of *Augustus*, whose Name it was resolved to give to the Month of *September*, in which he was born: But he preferred the preceding Month, for the Reasons mentioned in the Deliberations of the Senate, thus recorded by *Macrobius*. “As it was in the Month hitherto called *Sextilis*, that the Emperor *Cæsar Augustus* took Possession of his first Consulship, That he celebrated three Triumphs, That he received the Oath of Allegiance of the Legions, which occupied the *Janiculum*, That he reduced Egypt under the Power of the Roman People, That he put an End to all civil Wars; it appears, That this Month is, and has been, a most happy Month to this Empire. The Senate therefore ordains; That this Month shall henceforth be called *August*.” — With what abject Meanness does the Senate here gloss over that daring Deed of *Octavius*, when, after raising the Siege of *Mutina*, he traiterously turned against his Country those very Arms with which *she* had intrusted him to oppose the Incroachments of *M. Antony*, and wickedly forced his Way into her Capital! — With this fatal Event, began the lawless Power of the young *Usurper*.

Amidst this Profusion of Honor and Respect, quite conformable to the then Situation of Minds, one *Sextus Pacuvius*, Tribune of the People, rendered himself remarkable by an egregious Piece of Flattery. He declared, in a full Assembly of the Senate, that he was determined to devote him-

self to *Augustus* after the Manner of the *Spaniards*, *Celtes*, and *Germans*, and exhorted the Rest of the Senators to do the same. By this Custom, a great Number of Clients attached their Fate to that of some great Man, and bound themselves by Oath to live and die with him. *Augustus* put a Stop to the Tribune's Proposal, but could not hinder him from running to an Assembly of the People, whom he harangued to the same Effect; after which, going from Street to Street, he compelled those he met to devote themselves with him to *Augustus*. He offered Sacrifices, and made public Rejoicings on this Occasion, and declared, in an Assembly of the People, that he constituted *Augustus* his Heir in equal Shares with his Son: As he had not any Thing, the Object of his Liberality was rather to receive than give. Nor was he disappointed in his Expectation; for *Augustus* rewarded his Adulation, and thereby showed that it was not quite so disagreeable to him as he would have had it thought.

In Times of Liberty a Man depends upon *himself*. It is then that each *makes* his own Fortune. It is then that a Man's Talents, his Eloquence, his superior Spirit, his Capacity in the Cabinet or Field, his Constancy, Integrity, and a thousand Virtues, have both Incentives and Room to display themselves, and operate for his and his Country's Glory. Upon *these* he depends: From these he hopes for honest Fame, Protection from Injuries in Life, and an honorable Memory. — But the fatal Reverse was come. Men, instead of founding their Hopes upon their *own*, now useless, Virtues,

were taught to hang them upon the Will of another. Their eyes were turned upon their *Master* and his *Minions*. From *them* they were taught to expect Protection to their Persons and Families; and by *their* good Pleasure were Honors, Commands, Provinces, and Power to be distributed. — This Turn given to the Attention of Men, from themselves, and the Laws, to the Will and Pleasure of another, produced *Modern Roman* Politeness; that is, Fawning, Falshood, and Diffimulation.

The civil Wars which ensued immediately after *Julius Cæsar's* Conquest of *Gaul*, had hindered the *Romans* from establishing in that Country the same Order as reigned in their other Provinces. *Augustus*, having now acquired a legal Title to command, went thither³, numbered the People, took an Account of their Possessions, regulated the Tribute they were to pay, extended the Boundaries of *Aquitaine* from the *Pyrenean* Mountains and the *Garonne*, which limited them before, to the *Loire*, and published, in a general Assembly of the States, held at *Narbonne*⁴, the Laws by which they were to be governed. The *Gauls* were at Peace when *Augustus* arrived among them, but had been at War a short Time before, as appears by *Messala's* Triumph this Year. He had chastised some of them, not yet accustomed to the Yoke, near *Adour*, and the *Pyrenean* Hills; but as we have no particular Account of his Exploits, they might

³ A. U. DCCXXV.

⁴ *Strabo*, L. IV.

perhaps,

perhaps, not be considerable : For *Augustus* was ready enough to grant the Honors of a Triumph to his Lieutenants⁵.

His Design in going to *Gaul* was said to be to cross over from thence to *Britain* ; but Things seeming to take a peaceable Turn on this Side, the intended Expedition was dropped , he marched towards *Spain* , and at *Tarracona* , now *Aragon* , took Possession of his eighth Consulship⁶ , in which *Statilius Taurus* was his Colleague.

Cæsar had spent the Fire of his Youth in the civil Wars ; and well it might be extinguished, as he had been engaged in no less than seven of them , besides his Expedition into *Dalmatia*. 1. *Mutina* against *Antony*. 2. *Sicily* against *Sextus Pompey* , when *Salvidienus Rufus* was beaten. 3. *Philippi*. 4. *Perusium*. 5. *Sicily* , when his Fleet was wrecked. 6. *Sicily* , when he beat *Pompey*. And 7. *Actium* , which required two Campaigns. The whole of these Wars took up twelve Years. — When he returned from *Alexandria* , he was a little settled ; grew cautious , was unwilling to risk much , and therefore chose rather to employ the Troops in thoroughly conquering the old Provinces , especially such as lay nearest to *Italy* , than in far distant and dangerous Searches of new Laurels , like his adoptive Father *Julius*. — This brought a convenient domestic Caution into all his Counsels , and moderated his Designs and

⁵ *Suet.* in Aug. XXXVIII.

⁶ A. U. DCCXXVI.

Enterprises. *Britain* was talked of, as a Conquest which would add to his Glory; and *Horace*, the Echo of the Court - Language, has painted it out as a Field of Laurels to *Cæsar*; — But *this Cæsar* never attempted it.

A Briton, who, at present, has more Cause to love his Country than any other *European*, may wonder that the *Romans* should be so indifferent about our Island as they were for a long While; and particularly that *Augustus* should not endeavour to complete the Conquest begun by his Father. — But how must it humble his Pride, if he be one of those, whom a noble Writer calls *Patriots of the Soil*, to hear that the *Romans* made so little Account of it, that, when they could easily have conquered it, they despised the Acquisition, and chose to content themselves with a small annual Tribute, rather than have the whole Produce of the Island, at the Expence of keeping in it one Legion, and a few Cohorts; that is, about six or eight thousand Men. — To say the Truth, it was not very valuable at that Time; being almost uncultivated, and not a Town on the whole Island. What the then Inhabitants called a Town, was a large Part of a Wood surrounded with Stakes, and great Trees laid between, in the Area of which they built Hovels for themselves and their Cattle, to shelter them for some short Space, till they moved for grazing to another Quarter. *Julius Cæsar* had made two Descents into *Britain*, but was obliged to return quickly to *Gaul*; first, by the News of fresh Commotions

among the newly conquered Tribes, and, what touched him nearer, some Disgust among that Part of his Troops which he had left behind: Afterwards, he was forced back by the Loss of a considerable Part of his Fleet, destroyed by a high Tide and Storm at the full of the Moon, which dashed to Pieces forty of his Ships. — He went thither principally to have the Honor of being the *first* who attempted an unknown Country, and to raise his Name in *Rome*, as the Man who had extended the Limits of the Empire beyond the Ocean, as in Fact he did⁷. — Another Motive was more particular. He was fond of Jewels, and all Sorts of curious Toys, which he frequently gave to his favorite Ladies. Pearls were then the great Mode, and there was a Fishery of them in *Britain*; partly on which Account he was said to have visited this Island. He used to weigh them with his own Hand, and, as was related before, made a Present of one of them to his beloved *Servilia*, worth, or, to say better, valued at *Sexagies HS* — near 50,000 l. Let his Motive have been what it will, he came twice to *Britain*, and fought both Times with his usual Fortune. But as he was in Pursuit of greater Designs than the Conquest of such naked Barbarians as we then were, he hastened away, and may be rather said to have shown *Britain* to the *Romans*, than to have conquered it.

⁷ Eone nomine, Imperator unice
Fuiſti in ultimâ Occidentis Inſulâ?

Catull. ad Cæſarem.

Ambition is the genial Vice of great Minds. To it we owe the Brightest Actions that illustrate the Records of Time. — But this Passion acquires double Strength in the Breast of a Man who has risen from a low Origin to an exalted Station; especially if he owes his Rise to his own Courage and superior Abilities. Such a Person must have an Unusual Share of Self-Denial, if he does not think that the same Talents and Address which at first brought him out of his primitive Obscurity, and raised him above his Peers, may still raise him higher, and, with a proper Improvement of the Opportunities afforded by a tottering State, enable him to mount the Pinnacle of Power. — Fortune has given so much: — Why may she not give more? — Why not all? — Her Wheel is in perpetual Motion, carrying Crowns and Kingdoms now aloft, and anon precipitating them into the Dust. — What hinders me from mounting the revolving Orb, as well as another? — And no Matter, if I but gain the Top, whether I safely stand, or have a glorious Fall.

Such were the Sentiments of *Cornelius Gallus*, if we believe *Dion Cassius*, and some other Writers, who say, that this first Prefect of *Egypt*, after harassing and oppressing the People under his Government, and quelling several Insurrections, particularly a Rebellion of the rich Province of *Thebais*, whose Capital, the famous *Thebes*, with its hundred Gates, he plundered and destroyed; was so intoxicated with Prosperity, that he caused his own Exploits to be engraved on the Pyramids,

and Statues to be erected to him all over the Country; to which is added, that when heated with Wine and Rioting, he frequently took very unbecoming Liberties in speaking of his Benefactor *Augustus*, and, at Length went so far as even to conspire against him. — But as we are no where told who else was concerned in this Conspiracy, how far it was carried, how detected, for what End intended, or any Circumstances whatever relating to it; the whole of this Story appears to me a malevolent Fiction. — *Indiscretion* over his Bottle seems to have been his deepest Guilt. Had there been any Thing more, the unfortunate *Ovid*, while humbly suing for his own Pardon, would not have dared to say, That talking intemperately in his Wine was the Cause of his Ruin*. — Some unguarded, and probably too haughty, Expressions, have been picked up by a false Friend, and carried to the Prince. Yet this very Man (if the Piece which bears his Name be really of his Composition) has elegantly exposed that common Frailty, and warned others against what afterwards proved his Ruin. — He had a curious Cup, whose Engraving represented *Tantalus* pursuing in vain the flying Liquor; upon which he made his Poem.

While *Gallus* was Governor of *Egypt*, where the great Paper - Manufactory was, near *Memphis*,

* Nec fuit opprobrio celebrasse Lycorida Gallo,
Sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero.

Trist. Lib. II. El. I. v. 445.

he gave Orders for making a particular Sort, which was called *Charta Corneliiana*, from his Name. The largest and best was called *Augusta Regia*, in Honor of *Augustus* ², who, among other Things, might be offended at this small Piece of Rivalship.

Gallus was recalled, and *Petronius* sent in his Stead. This last, having disobliged the *Alexandrian* Mob, was attacked by several Thousands of them, who rushed upon him with Sticks, Stones, and whatever came to Hand: but he, with only the Handful of Soldiers he used to keep about his Person, stood their Shock, killed some of them, and dispersed the Rest. — *Egypt* and the East were so unwarlike, that *Elius Gallus*, who succeeded *Petronius*, was likely to conquer all *Arabia Felix*, when he marched against that Country with a Part of the *Roman* Garrisons in *Egypt*, had he not been betrayed by *Syllæus*.

When *Gallus* returned to *Rome*, one *Elius* (some call him *Valerius*) *Largus*, who had been his Intimate, became his Accuser; and, for the Crimes he was charged with, *Augustus* forbid him the Court, and banished him from all the Provinces of his Department. His Friends immediately forsook him, Accusations were multiplied, and the Senate, taking Cognizance of the Affair with far greater Severity than the Emperor had done, condemned *Gallus* to Banishment, with Forfeiture of his whole Estate. — Unable to bear this Ignominy, he killed himself. *Augustus* seemed greatly afflicted,

² *Isid.* Orig. Lib. VI. c. 10. De Cartis.

and a very fine Saying is attributed to him on this Occasion, if it was sincere: “ I am the only
 “ one, said he, that is not allowed to be angry
 “ with my Friends to what Degree I please.” —
Gallus was about forty Years of Age, when he perished. He had been intimate with *Augustus*, and, I doubt not, disliked his Usurpation, and despised all the great Men in *Rome*, for allowing him to be their Master.

Let us consider Things in their genuine Light. — *Cornelius Gallus* had the same Title, in Point of Law to be *Prince* even in *Rome*, that is, the First Man in the Empire, as *Gaius Octavius*. Murder and Violence had raised the latter, — who had no more *Right* to command than any other *Roman*. *Gallus* saw him unequal in his Passions, fearful beyond Measure, at other Times rash and daring, and mischievous in both¹. He saw him envious and suspicious; depending upon Accidents, and regulating his Conduct by the Turns of Chance; slight therefore in his Friendships, and abandoned in his Morals. He knew that the Barbarities committed by him under the most

¹ Conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret Amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci.

Suet. Aug. LXVI.

² Ὀκταδιανὸς ἐπεισέρχεται, πολλὰ ἀμείβων ὥσπερ οἱ χαμαιλέοντες χρώματ'· καὶ νῦν μὲν ὠχρίων, αὖθις δὲ ἐρυθρὸς γενόμενος; εἰλαμέλας καὶ ζοφώδης καὶ συνεφής· ἀνέλο δ' αὖθις εἰς εὐφροδίτην καὶ χαρίδας — καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς, Βαδαι! ἔφη τῷ πανθοδαπῇ τῷδε θηρίου! Τί ποτ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσειαι;

Ἰσλ. Καίσαρις.

shocking Circumstances in the Triumvirate, as they had made his Name terrible, so they had rendered it odious to the best of the *Romans*: and perhaps did not know, being absent in *Egypt*, that a total Change of Manners and Maxims had already begun to wipe off the Stains of his former Crimes; nor was he aware that the Appearance of Mildness and Clemency in a Prince, the Sweets of Peace, the Fruits of Justice, and returning Laws, just begun to be tasted by a miserable exhausted People, would make them very averse to replunge themselves into Violence and Blood for the Sake of a new Master. — An absolute Court, is, at best, a Grave where Merit is buried. It is well if it escape a worse Return. — *Gallus's* long and weighty Services were forgot; whilst his undaunted Heart, and great Capacity for Affairs, gave a cutting Edge to his Jests upon *Cæsar*, who deeply felt, and never could forgive them; as is plain from his giving *Virgil* to understand, that he would please him much in effacing that Part of his Book of Husbandry³, which contained an Encomium on *Gallus*. — The Poet could not but comply; and to make it up, put in the Episode of the Shepherd *Aristæus*, which, though extremely beautiful, does not, I doubt, make Amends for the Loss of the Picture of *Cornelius Gallus*.

Among the Men of Genius whom the polite and generous *Gallus* loved to have about him,

³ The End of his fourth Book of *Georgics*.

was *Parthenius*, the elegiac Poet. — He wrote in a Strain so inimitably sweet and flowing, as to be *Tibullus's* Pattern. — While in *Gallus's* Retinue, he became of Course acquainted with *Virgil*, and their reciprocal Merit soon produced an Esteem and Intimacy. *Maro* applied to him as his Master; and not only learned the Structure and Elegance of the *Grecian* Poesy from *Parthenius*, but literally transcribed some of his Verses into his own Works⁴.

Parthenius was either a Native of *Myrlea*, a Town in *Bithynia*, or of the neighbouring City *Nicea*, (where was held the Council which gave a Sanction to our Creed.) He was taken Prisoner by *Cinna*, as a Subject of *Mithridates*, was brought to *Rome*, enfranchised, and admitted into the Familiarity of the greatest Men. Though his Genius inclined him to Elegy, yet his fertile Muse produced Works in various Sorts of Verse. His Compositions were marked by a peculiar Sweetness, such as we admire in the divine *Petrarch*: and that Sweetness was peculiarly fitted to his Subjects. His first Essays, written in the Height of Youth and Pleasure, were addressed to the Queen of Love; and his beautiful little Treatise, entitled *The Loves of the Heroes*, was inscribed to *Gallus*⁵. — But his later Productions were funeral Elegies on the amiable *Arete*,

⁴ *Macrob. Lib. V. c. 17.*

⁵ His Address to *Gallus*, who was himself a Poet,

and afterwards an Encomium on her Virtues. — He must have been a happy Man, since this loved Mistress was his Wife, and his Fondness for her Memory could inspire Sentiments admired by Posterity. He lived to a great Age, having reached the Reign of *Tiberius*, who was so delighted with his Verses, that he collected all his Performances, as superior to the Productions of any of the then modern Poets, and set up his Statue, with those of *Rhianus* and *Euphoriion*, two Writers of the same Class, in his Library.

When we view *Horace* and *Virgil*, *Tibullus* and *Ovid*, as *Poets*, they appear elegant, ingenious, and sublime. Yet they are but Imitators, and in their chief Excellencies the *Grecians* were their Masters.

differs pretty much from the Epistles dedicatory now in Vogue. It runs thus:

“ *Sir*,

“ Being of Opinion that this Collection of Love-Differs could be no where more properly addressed than
 “ to you, I send it, reduced to as narrow a Compass
 “ as was in my Power. It will help you to understand
 “ some Things which are but hinted at by the Poets;
 “ and, you may employ the greatest Part of the Incidents in Elegy, or Epic, as you may judge convenient:
 “ for having retrenched the superfluous Circumstances with
 “ which they are commonly related, you will be able to
 “ form a truer Judgment of them, than when you are
 “ led in o Ambiguities. They are collected in the Form
 “ of *Memoirs*, upon which other Works may be formed, and, as is my Duty, are now offered to You,
 “ by *Sir, &c.*”

“ *Suidas* in *Parthen*.

The noblest Monument of the Magnificence of the *Ptolomean* Kings, was the immense *Alexandrian* Library, consisting of seven hundred thousand Volumes. — It was a Point of Rivalship between them and the *Attalic* Princes, which should have the greatest and most curious Collection of Books. — Paper was then the Manufacture of *Egypt*; and to frustrate his Rival, *Ptolomy*, somewhat enviously, forbade the Exportation of it. But Emulation is ingenious: For, to supply the Want of Paper, and fill the *Per-gamenian* Library with more lasting Volumes, *Attalus* contrived Parchment, called *Charta Per-gamenia*. His Library came to *Rome*, as Part of his Legacy to the *Romans*. But that vast Magazine of Literature at *Alexandria*, collected by *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, to whom, by the by, [we principally owe the Propagation of Judaism, and consequently of Christianity, (as appears from the *Acts* of the Apostles,) by his procuring the Books of *Moses* to be translated into *Greek*, was burnt by *Julius Cæsar*, not of Design, but in Self-Defence against *Achillas's* Treachery; the Fire catching it from the Arsenal. Among the Records of Ages, then consumed, was the Original Copy of the Translation of the *Jewish* Scriptures by the seventy-two Elders, from thence commonly called the *Septuagint*; and, surely, with it, a fair and correct Copy of the Law, the Prophets, and other Writers, from which they made the Translation. What remained, was gi-

⁷ *Aul. Gel. Lib. VI. §. 17.*

ven by *Antony* as a Present to his insatiate Mistress *Cleopatra*: after whose Death, this famous Library was restored by *Cornelius Gallus*^b.

I know not whether it was by *Gallus*'s Assistance, or that of some of the succeeding Governors, that *Augustus* brought the famous *Alexandrian* Obelisks to *Rome*. — He placed one of them in the *Circus*, and the other in the *Campus Martius*. The first was upwards of 125 Feet high, besides the Base, of the same Stone; and the Ship which carried it was thought so wonderful a Piece, that *Augustus* laid her up for a Show, in the Arsenal at *Pozzuolo*. The second was nine Feet less, but rendered more remarkable by the Ingenuity of *Manlius* the Mathematician, who ran a Pavement from the Base of it, equal in Length to the Height of the Obelisk. Upon this Pavement its Shadow fell, equal likewise to its Height, on the longest Day, when it was Noon at *Rome*. Afterwards, it decreased daily, by Degrees, marked in the Pavement by Plates of Brass at certain Distances; and, on the contrary, increased, according to the Length of the Days and Nights. *Manlius*, who is probably *Manilius* the Mathematician, put a gilt Ball upon the Top of this Obelisk, in Order to collect and ascertain the Shadow, which varied sometimes, as it came from the Point of the Stone. — He was thought to have taken this Hint from the Form of the human Head, and its Effect in Light and Shade.

^b *Strabo*.

The servile Senate ordered solemn Thanksgivings to the Gods for the Discovery and Suppression of *Gallus's* Conspiracy, as it was called; as if he had been a public Enemy, on the stopping of whose Plots the Safety of the State depended.

— An Example of Flattery too much imitated and enlarged upon under the succeeding Emperors.

— But neither this Decree of the Senate, nor the Protection of the Prince, could screen the Accuser from the just Indignation of all good Men. He was detested as a Traitor to his Friend; and looked upon as a Wretch against whom one could not be sufficiently guarded. *Proculeius*, chancing one Day to meet *Largus* in the Street, immediately clapt his Hand before his Nose and Mouth; to signify, that it was not safe even to breathe in the Presence of such a Man. This, to me, is a farther Proof that *Gallus* was rather guilty of Folly and Giddiness, than of any real Crime; for had he actually conspired against his Prince, the Person who detected his Designs would have been thought to act the Part of a good Citizen, and not that of a Traitor. — His unhappy End was the Blot of *Augustus's* Life, — like *Alexander's* killing *Callisthenes*.

That perfect Model of a good Minister, *M. Agrippa*, ever ready to give his Prince the best of Counsels, and constantly solicitous for the public Welfare, finished this Year ' a great Work, begun by *Julius Cæsar*, and considerably advanced by *Lepidus*, but interrupted by the civil Wars.

' MCCXXVI.

This was the *Parks*, as they were called, for the Use of the Tribes and Centuries in the general Assemblies of the People. At first, they were only of Wood, without any Covering, till *Julius*, whilst he was making war in *Gaul*, formed a Plan to build them of Marble, to cover them in, and to build fine Porticos around them. *Cicero*, who then affected to live with *Cæsar* on the Footing of a Friend, was to have had the Direction of this Work, jointly with *Oppius*. We know not how far *Cæsar's* Design was carried into Execution. *Dion Cassius* says, that *Lepidus* built the Body of the Work, but only of Stone. *Agrippa* added the Ornaments, Incrustations of Marble, fine Carvings, and exquisite Paintings; and, by a solemn Dedication, gave this Building the Name of the *Julian Parks*, in Honor of the first *Cæsar*, who projected the Work, and of *Augustus*, under whom it was completed.

The next Year, he finished the *Pantheon*, one of the Wonders of the World, for Beauty (arising from the simplest Symmetry), and for Duration. According to *Pliny's* Account, *Agrippa* dedicated this Temple to *Jupiter* the Avenger; and according to *Dion Cassius*¹, to *Mars*, *Venus*, and *Julius Cæsar*. But the general, and most probable Opinion is, that it was consecrated to *Cybele*, and all the Deities², whose Statues were erected in it. To these, *Agrippa* would have added that of *Augustus*: — But he had the *Modesty* to refuse ac-

¹ Lib. I. c. 2.

² *Platina*, in *Bonifac.*

cepting of divine Honors within the City. *Agrippa* therefore placed his Statue, and his own, in the Vestibule: That of *Julius Cæsar*, long since deified, was consecrated within the Temple. — The ancient Inscription, (M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIUM. FECIT.) still extant over the Portico, does not imply, as some have mistakenly imagined, that this Building was finished in *Agrippa's* third Consulship (for that was two Years before, viz. in 725), but that he had been thrice Consul when it was completed.

This magnificent Structure is a hundred and forty Feet high, and about as much in Breadth. The Roof is curiously vaulted, void Spaces being left here and there for greater Strength. The Rafters, forty Feet long, were once plated with Brass. There are no Windows in the whole Edifice: but a very sufficient Light is let in through a round Hole in the Top of the Roof'. The Walls are eighteen Feet thick*, and either of solid Marble, or incrusted on the Inside. The Outside of the Front was formerly covered with Plates of gilded Brass, and the Roof with Plates of Silver; instead of which there now is Lead. The Gates were of Brass, of extraordinary Size, and exquisite Workmanship'. This Temple, which was damaged by a great Fire in the Reign of *Titus*, and afterwards repaired and beautified by *Adrian* and *Severus*, has suffered little Altera-

³ *Fabricii* Roma, c. 9.

^{*} *Nodot*, Relation de la Cour de Rome, p. 460.

['] *Marlian*. Lib. VI. c. 6.

tion, though now near eighteen hundred Years old, except in the Loss of its ancient Ornaments, and that instead of ascending to it by twelve Steps, as formerly, the same Number is now descended at its Entrance.

Boniface IV, Bishop of *Rome*, under *Phocas*, obtained a Gift of the Pantheon from that profligate Man, and having, in the Year 609 of our *Æra*, thrown out all the Statues of the Gods (which his Successors are eagerly raking out of the Rubbish), and well purified it with Prayers and holy Water, consecrated it, instead of *Cybele* and her Offspring, to the Virgin *Mary* and all the *Saints*; whence, and from its spherical Form, its modern Name of *Sta. Maria della Rotonda*. An Inundation of the *Tiber*, by which a great Part of *Rome* was laid under Water, on the Eve of *St. Andrew's Day*, in the Year 1422, *Martin V.* being Pontiff, reached the great Altar of this Church, but did not much hurt the Building. About the Year 1451, that great Patron of Learning among the Popes, *Thomas Sarzano*, who took the Name of *Nicolas V.* observing that the Materials, not the Fabric, of the Roof were going to Decay, covered it closely with Lead*. To this great Man, and magnificent Prince, we owe the first Revival of Learning in the West, after six hundred Years of Ignorance and Barbarity: for he picked out ingenious Men, and besides giving them high Encouragement to study and teach at

* *Platina*, in *Nicol. V.*

home, he sent the most learned of them over the different Parts of *Europe*, with Money and Orders to search out and buy up all the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Authors they could find. — Then the facetious *Poggi* the *Florentine* first discovered *Quintilian*; then *Enos* of *Ascoli* found *Horace's* famed Interpreter *Porphyrio*, together with the Works of the signal Epicure *Apicius*, which *Platina* published afterwards with a Piece of his own *On good Eating*, but which he inscribed *De Sanitate tuenda*, where he endeavours to outdo the famous *Roman*. — Another Circumstance, which contributed very greatly to the Restoration of Learning, and which likewise happened under this Pontiff, was the fatal Catastrophe of the *Greek Empire*, when *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks*⁷. The learned Men who then left that Country, and took Refuge in *Italy*, brought with them their Books and Knowledge, and thereby completed the Reformation of the West: after which, some of the Popes themselves, particularly *Eneas Sylvius*, under the Name of *Pius II.* became eminent in Eloquence and Learning.

I cannot quit the Subject of the Pantheon, without giving the following Extract from Dr. *Middleton's* justly admired Letter from *Rome*⁸.

“ The noblest *Heathen Temple* now remaining in the World, is the *Pantheon*, or *Rotonda*; which

⁷ It was taken on the 29th of May, 1453, by *Mahomet II.*

⁸ Page 32.

as the (modern) Inscription over the Portico informs us , *having been impiously dedicated of old by Agrippa to Jove, and all the Gods, was piously re-consecrated by Pope Boniface IV. to the blessed Virgin, and all the Saints.* — With this single Alteration it serves as exactly well for all the Purposes of the *popish*, as it did for the *pagan Worship*, for which it was built: For, as in the *old Temple* every one might find the *God* of his Country, and address himself to that *Deity* whose Religion he was most devoted to; it is just the same Thing now: Every one chuses the *Patron* he likes best; and one may see here *different Services* going on at the same Time, at *different Altars*, with distinct Congregations around them, just as the Inclinations of the People lead them to the Worship of this or that particular *Saint*.

“ And what better Title can these *new Demigods* show to the Adoration now paid them, than the *old ones*, whose Shrines they have usurped? Or how comes it to be less criminal to *worship Images* erected by the *Pope*, than those which *Agrippa*, or that which *Nebuchadnezzar* set up? If there be any real Difference, most People, I dare say, will be apt to determine in Favor of the *old Possessors*: For those *Heroes of Antiquity* were raised up into *Gods*, and received *divine Honors*, in Acknowledgment for some *signal Benefits* they had been the *Authors* of to Mankind; as the *Invention of Arts and Sciences*, or of something highly useful and necessary to Life: Whereas of the *Romish Saints*, it is certain that many of them were never

heard of, but in their own *Legends* or *Fabulous Histories*; and many more, instead of any Services done to Mankind, owe all the Honors now paid them, to their *Vices* or their *Errors*: Whose Merit, like the Story of *Demetrius* in the Gospel, was that only of raising Rebellions in Defence of *their Idol*, and throwing whole Kingdoms into Convulsions for the Sake of some *gainful Imposture*."

A noble Temple now erected to *Neptune*, as an Acknowledgment for *Augustus's* Victories at Sea; public Baths, adorned with fine Paintings and Statues; and many other stately Buildings, calculated for the Convenience of the Inhabitants of the Capital of the World, were added to the many more with which *Agrippa* had embellished *Rome*, while he was Edile, in the Time of the Republic; Monuments of such Magnificence as no other Subject, and scarce any Emperor, ever equalled.

Augustus, in his eighth Consulship, re-opened the Temple of *Janus*, on Account of different Wars⁹, the most important of which was with the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians*, in *Spain*. He again had Thoughts of marching against the *Britons*, who, after seeming disposed to acknowledge his Laws, had taken a different Turn, and refused to submit to the Conditions he proposed. But the Motions of the *Salassi*, at the Foot of the *Alps*, and of the *Spaniards*, were thought Objects of greater Consequence. He therefore sent *Terentius*

⁹ *Dio & Oros. VI. 21.*

Varro Murena against the *Salassi*, and, taking to himself the *Spanish War*, entered on his ninth Consulship at *Tarracona*. *M. Junius Silanus* was his Colleague; but I cannot say whether he had remained in *Spain* the whole of this Year, or whether he returned to *Rome* for a few Months.

In new Conquests, it is very common to leave a rough mountainous Corner of the Country unsubdued. — When *Gaul* had been many Years a *Roman Province*, and filled with *Roman Colonies*, the Inhabitants of the *Alps*, the *Grisons*, *Swiss*, *Savoyards*, and *Piemontese*, were still untouched. — When *Asia* was an old Conquest, the Mountains of *Cilicia* remained in Liberty. — The same Thing happened in *Britain*, both in the *Roman Conquests*, and the *Saxon* and *Danish* Invasions. The Hills of *Scotland* and *Wales* afforded a secure Retreat to the old Inhabitants pushed from the Plains, and accordingly retain to this Day a People of different Language and Customs from the Rest of the Island, though undoubtedly of the same Stock and Mother-Tongue. — But this has happened no where more remarkably than twice in *Spain*. — The *Romans* had battled for the Dominion of that Country near two hundred Years, and yet the Mountains in *Cantabria*, *Asturias*, and *Biscay*, remained in Possession of the Natives, who made frequent Incursions into the adjacent Provinces. — Those Natives then were, what they still are, equally cunning and bold ¹. — Nor would there be a People more

¹ — — bellicosus Cantaber.

Horat. Lib. II. Od. 2.

terrible in *Europe*, had not the Ravages of absolute Power, and the unhappy Discovery of the *Indies*, at once depopulated and enervated those Provinces, which formerly swarmed with hardy and industrious Inhabitants.

The War against the *Salassi* required neither great Efforts nor much Time. *Muræna* finished it in one Campaign, in which, after some slight Advantages, he completed by Treachery a Victory began by Force. Under Pretence of levying the Contributions which the conquered had submitted to, he dispersed over the whole Country, Troops who seized the unfortunate *Salassi*, when they least expected it. Forty-four thousand Captives, thus taken, among whom were eight thousand able to bear Arms², were sent to *Eporedia*, now *Yvrée*, a Roman Colony, and there sold, with the express Condition, that they should be carried into remote Countries, and not be allowed to gain their Freedom before the Expiration of twenty Years. A Colony was settled in the Country to keep the Rest of the Inhabitants in Awe: Three thousand of the Pretorians remained in the Place where *Muræna's* Camp had been, and there built

“ En matières de brigues & menées (says Cardinal
 “ d’Ossat, speaking of the *Spaniards*), ils surpassent toutes
 “ les autres Nations; & quoiqu’en d’autres choses ils
 “ soient avarés, néanmoins en celles-ci ils sont plus que
 “ libéraux.”

Liv. IX. Lett. 359.

² *Strabo*, L. IV.

a new Town, called *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aosta*, the Capital of the Dutchy of that Name.

As *Muræna* was only the Emperor's Lieutenant, the Honor of his Victory belonged to *Augustus*; and accordingly the Senate, for that, and some trifling Advantages gained by *M. Vinicius* over a few *Germans*, who had killed some *Roman* Traders, decreed him a triumphal Arch, with Trophies, to be erected on a Summit of the *Alps*³. The Ruins of this Monument are still to be seen, as is said⁴, near *Monaco*, in a Village called *Torpia*; — perhaps a Corruption of the Word *Tropæa*.

Augustus met with far greater Difficulties in the *Spanish* War; and even succeeded but badly while he commanded in Person: For the brave and active *Cantabrians* harassed him continually by sudden Attacks, without his being able to gain any decisive Advantage over them, because they kept close to their Mountains, where they were sure of a safe Retreat. The Fatigue he underwent, and the Vexation he felt at not succeeding, threw him

³ This was not, however, executed till some Years after; as appears from the Inscription preserved by *Pliny* (a), where, among the People named as subdued by the *Roman* Arms, are some who were not conquered till the Year 737, such as the *Camunians* and the *Vennoneti* by *P. Silius*, the *Breuni* and the *Genauni* by *Drusus*. Besides, the Title of High-Priest is given to *Augustus* in that Inscription; and he had it not till 739, twelve Years after the Time here spoken of.

(a) Lib. III. c. 20.

⁴ *Cluver. Ital. Antiq. Lib. IX.*

into a Fit of Illness, which obliged him to retreat to *Tarracona*. His Disease proved lingering and tedious: — Reports of his Death flew to *Rome*, and upon that Occasion it *did* appear how much he was now beloved. An universal Consternation seized the Citizens; — Marks of the sincerest Anguish broke from them, and could not be retrained, but by certain Accounts of his Recovery'. — In the mean Time, the Enemy, emboldened by the Emperor's Absence, ventured to give the *Romans* Battle, and were defeated. — No Country ever cost the *Romans* so much Toil and Blood to conquer, as *Cantabria*, (now *Biscay*.) They had long been Masters of the open Places, and of the Provinces on the Coast, while the Mountains were full of an un subdued and almost unknown People. *Antistius*, *Furnius*, *Taurus*, and even *Agrippa*, were sent against them, took several of their Towns, and at last pursued them through their most rugged Recesses. Joined to this, while they were thus vigorously pushed by Land, a

' It was at this Crisis that *Horace* composed his admirable Ode,
Divis orte bonis, &c.

Lib. IV. Carm. 5.

where the Love and Veneration of the *Romans* for *Augustus*, and the Impatience with which they longed for his Return, are strongly and most tenderly expressed. — We may take it for a general and never failing Rule, that whenever this Poet mentions the *Public*, it is always in the current Style of the Court, in the very Words of the Prince, if possible, or in those used by the soundest Part of the Ministry.

Roman Fleet harassed their Coasts by frequent Descents. — At Length, they were driven to a Mountain⁶ near the *Minho*, and surrounded without a Possibility of escaping. There, finding themselves attacked on all Sides, they desperately resolved to relinquish Life, rather than submit to the Conqueror: And accordingly, great Numbers of them stabbed, burnt, or poisoned themselves; for they are said always to have carried Poison about them, as a Resource against any Reverse of Fate. — Mothers smothered their Children, to save them from Captivity; and among those that were taken was a young Boy, who, having picked up a Sword, was seen to kill his Brother and all his Relations, by his Father's Order. In like Manner, a Woman killed all that were Prisoners with her⁷.

This haughty Nation being thus subdued, *Augustus*, to soften their Ferocity, forced them down from their Mountains, where they only grew more and more savage; and, after selling Part of the Prisoners, took Hostages from those he left in the Country, and fixed their Abode in the Plains.

The *Asturians* defended themselves with almost equal Obstinacy, but were at Length over-powered by *Augustus's* Lieutenant *Carisius*. — They were treated like their Neighbours, forced into the Plains, and compelled to cultivate their Lands,

⁶ *Orosius* calls it *Medullins*.

⁷ *Strabo*, Lib. III.

and work their Mines, some of which proved so valuable, that this Country was a Sort of *Peru* to ancient *Rome*.

To secure these dear-bought Conquests, and at the same Time to improve and beautify them, several new Colonies were settled, which grew afterwards to great Cities^{*}: — For the *Romans*, allured by the Climate and Soil, took such Footing in *Spain*, that, in a Score of Years, *Latin* became the vulgar Tongue of the Country. It continued to be so until the Irruption of our Ancestors the *Goths*, and the subsequent Invasion of the *Moors*; neither of which could, however, so change it, but that the *Spaniards* to this Day call their Language *Romance*, and the Epithet given to a Person who speaks it purely is *Muyladino*.

It appears by the Situation which the *Romans* generally chose for their Colonies, that they were no commercial People. They were most commonly inland Settlements, near some Rock or Hill, with a rich adjacent Plain; but very seldom a Sea-Port: Nor did they much affect even a navigable River. — The Legions were the Source of their Planters, and these Land-Men loved a fine fertile Field, better than the Advantages of a Harbour.

This was *Augustus's* last military Exploit. — We shall not find him any more at the Head of his Armies; for he was not a Warrior by Taste or Inclination. — If his Youth was spent in Arms,

^{*} Of this Number were *Julia Emerita*, and *Cæsarea Augusta*, now *Merida*, and *Saragoça*.

it was only from a Necessity of his so doing, in Order to accomplish his ambitious Views, and raise himself to the high Rank he had now attained. — From henceforth he made all his Glory consist in well governing the vast Empire of which he was become the *Head*; and had so little Desire to extend its Boundaries, or add to his own Fame by gaining new Victories, that he avoided War with the Barbarians bordering upon the *Roman Territories*, with as much Care as the *Roman Generals* of old used to seek it. Far from wanting to provoke them, he often made their Princes and Ambassadors swear faithfully to keep Peace with him; and that he might be the furer of it, he frequently made them give their Daughters as Hostages; for he found that, in general, they were fonder of them than of their Sons. He could not, however, avoid some Wars, especially with the *Germans*; but they were only defensive on his Side, at least in their Beginnings, and he conducted them by his Lieutenants.

Spain being now subdued, and entirely pacified, after two hundred Years of almost continual War, (for that great Country had never been at Peace from the Time of *Cn. Scipio's* entering it in the first Year of the second *Punic War*; but had even repeatedly alarmed the *Romans*, by the Defeat and Death of the *Scipio's*, by *Variathus's* War, by that of *Numantium*, and of *Sertorius*, and in *Cæsar's* two Expeditions, first against the Lieutenants, and afterwards against the Children of *Pompey*,) *Augustus*, for the second Time, closed

the Temple of *Janus*. — The Senate decreed him the Honors of a Triumph, which he *modestly* declined. — He was already so great, says the florid *Florus* ⁹, that a Triumph could not add to his Glory. — But, to celebrate his Victory, he had Shows exhibited in his Camp; on which Occasion his Nephew *Marcellus*, and his Son-in-Law *Tiberius*, both very young, performed the Functions of Ediles.

Marcus Marcellus, (son of *C. Marcellus*), born with Principles of Probity, Generosity, and Candor, improved by a Sweetness of Temper, and Openness of Heart, rarely to be found in the Height of Fortune, had been contracted to *Sextus Pompey's* Daughter, *Pompeia*. But *Augustus*, who had no Son, looking upon him as the Hope of his Family, and the Person whom he intended to make the first and chief Support of his Authority, now ¹ married him to his only Daughter *Julia*. — He was so intent upon concluding this Match, that, being detained in *Spain* by his Illness, of which he had violent and sometimes dangerous Relapses, he ordered *Agrippa* to preside at the Nuptials in his Name.

Though *Augustus* was fully Master of the Empire, and at Liberty to do any Thing he pleased; yet the Laws, or rather their Appearances, for little more now remained, seemed to cramp him.

⁹ Digna res lauro, digna curru Senatui visa est: Sed jam Cæsar tantus erat, ut posset triumphos contemnere.

¹ A. U. DCCXXVII.

— To set them aside at once, might have roused a dangerous Spirit. — It was therefore more eligible artfully to elude their Force. — To this End, when ready to arrive at *Rome* in the Beginning of his tenth Consulship, (to which he was nominated whilst in *Spain*, with *C. Norbanus Flaccus*,) he sent before him an Ordinance, by which he promised to make the People a Present of four hundred Sesterces a-piece, on Account of his Return, provided the Senate approved of it; till when this Declaration was not to be published. — His Friends, among whom were some of the best Speakers in *Rome*, were instructed how to behave. They accordingly proposed this Affair to the Senate, who, shamefully degenerated from the once noble Spirit of the *Romans*, not only agreed to it with one Voice; but, servilely studious to court the Favor, and anticipate even the most extravagant Wishes of their new Lord, voted a Decree by which he was exempted from all Subjection to the Laws, so as never to be obliged to do what he did not like, or to leave undone what he chose to do. — Particular Dispensations had been granted in the Time of the Republic, in some extraordinary Cases. — Such were the Elections of the second *Scipio Africanus*, of *Pompey*, and of *Octavius* himself, when they were appointed Consuls by special Permission of the Senate, before they had attained the Age prescribed by the Laws. — But little was it then dreamt that any Man would be thus authorized to set himself above the Laws, despotically to consult only his own Will and Pleasure.

Prerogatives and Privileges beyond the Rest of the Citizens were not confined to the Prince alone, but likewise extended to his Family. After the Rejoicings, Festivals, and Thanksgivings for his Return, the Senate granted to *Marcellus* the Right of voting in the Rank of ancient Pretor, and enabled him to be created Consul ten Years before the legal Age. — Little was it then thought that *Tiberius* would ever attain the Rank to which the Circumstances of Things afterwards raised him. — *Augustus*, willing to have this distant Resource, in Case of Accidents, obtained of the Senate, in his Favor, a Dispensation of five Years in Regard to the Age required in such as held any Offices, and had him made Questor the next Year, when *Marcellus* was appointed Curule Edile; on which last Occasion, no Expense was spared, to enhance the Magnificence of the Ceremony. — But surely *Augustus's* suffering a Roman Knight, and a Lady of considerable Distinction, to dance publicly on the Stage, was far from adding to the Lustre of the Games then given. — The Forum was shaded with Tilts during the whole Summer, that those who had Business there, particularly the Pleaders, might not be incommoded by the Heat of the Sun. — For these last, *Cato* the Cenfor would rather have paved it with pointed Flints².

As *Augustus's* Power increased, the Citizens became more and more estranged from the Republic, and began not to be fond of Offices now divested of their Splendor and Authority. — Al-

² *Plin.* Lib. XIX. c. 1.

ready, there was not a sufficient Number of Questors for the Provinces: — The Senate was obliged to exert its Authority, and order those who had been appointed Questors during the last ten Years, to draw Lots to fill up the present Vacancies; and, a few Years after, the same Thing happened again, when the Tribunes were to be chosen.

Terentius Varro Muræna, the same who had conquered the *Salassi* three Years before, was *Augustus's* first Colleague in his eleventh Consulship, but did not long enjoy that Dignity. Upon his Resignation, or more probably, his Death, *Augustus*, nobly laying aside the Remembrance of former Enmities, or perhaps politically consulting his own Safety, (for *self* was at the Bottom of all his Actions), took for his Successor *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, a Man of an undaunted Spirit, who had been one of the most strenuous Opposers of the Grandeur of the *Cæsars*. — *Piso* had signalized his Zeal for the Republic in the War which *Scipio* and *Cato* renewed in *Africa*, against *Cæsar*, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*. He afterwards joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and when these two last Defenders of the Roman Liberty were dead, he obtained Leave to return to *Rome*: But still preserving all his Haughtiness of Mind, would never stoop to ask any Employment. *Augustus* was now forced to make the first Advances, and desire he would be pleased to accept of the Consulship. — I take it to be to his Sons, that *Horace's* Epistle concerning the Art of Poetry is addressed. The

eldest of them married *Plancina*, *Munatius Plancus's* Daughter, immensely rich, and equally haughty. — These two were pitched upon by *Tiberius* to distress the noble *Germanicus*, and spite the high-spirited *Agrippina*.

It is of this eldest Son of *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, that *Seneca* tells the following Story. — “*Cn. Piso*, says he, who lived within my Memory, was a Man free from many of the common Vices, but of a cross imperious Disposition, and one who looked upon Obstinacy as a Virtue. Two of his Soldiers had been absent upon Furlow: One of them returned alone, whom he, in a Passion, ordered to be led to Execution; suspecting that he had killed his Companion. The poor Fellow begged a little Time to go and seek his Comrade, which was denied, and he was holding out his Neck to the Blow which was to sever his Head from his Body, when the Man, supposed to have been murdered, appeared. At this the Centurion, appointed to oversee the Execution, ordered the Executioner to put up his Sword, and carried the condemned Man back to *Piso*, to save a Soldier, and prevent his General's shedding innocent Blood. The whole Camp was got about them by this Time, and conducted the two Brother-Soldiers, who walked clasped in each other's Arms, with great Shoutings, to the Tribunal. The General, hearing the Noise, and being informed of what had happened, came foaming out of his Tent, and mounted the Judgment-Seat. The Centurion presented his Prisoner, and with him

the live Man, for whose supposed Murder he had been condemned to die : But the furious *Liso* commanded them all three to be taken back to the same Place, and executed together : You, said he to the first, because Sentence of Death is already passed upon you ; — you, because you were the Cause of your Companion's condemnation ; — and you, Sir, to the Centurion, because, when commanded to put him to Death, you thought fit to disobey your General's Orders."

Augustus made a vain Effort to restore the Splendor of the Republic, by preserving the Remains of the ancient Families, whose Chiefs he had bloodily extirpated in his Youth. — Among the young Patricians who fell at *Philippi* was *Q. Hortensius*, Son of the celebrated Orator and Consul. — He left an Orphan Son in *Rome*, named *Hortatulus*, whose Manner of Life was suited to his reduced Fortune, when the Prince called him to Court, — desired him to marry, in Order to continue so noble a Family³, and, to enable him to educate his Children, made him a Present of 25000 l.⁴. He had four Sons, who were afterwards neglected by *Tiberius*, and suffered to languish in the utmost Contempt and Poverty⁵.

Augustus had long been in a declining Way, having but short Intervals of Health, interrupted

³ For his elder Brother's Son, who, from his constant Catering, got the Nick. Name of *Corbio*, (Mr. *Hamper*, or *Hannaper*,) was a Scandal to his Family. His Manners were infamous, beyond what can be decently described, and he lived the Cully of a common Woman.

⁴ Decies Sestertiūm.

⁵ *Tacit.* Annal. Lib. II.

by

by frequent Relapses. This Year ⁶ his Life was despaired of. — Not thinking himself that he should recover, he sent for the principal Magistrates, Senators, and Knights, and, in their Presence, delivered to the Consul *Piso*, the general Register of the Empire, that is to say, an Account of the Public Revenues and Expenses, and a List of all the Forces belonging to the *Romans*, with Instructions concerning whatever else related to the Government; the whole written with his own Hand. — He named no one to succeed him: Perhaps because he did not think his Power sufficiently established to be respected after his Death: — But he gave his Ring ⁷ to *Agrippa*. This Preference shocked *Marcellus* exceedingly; and indeed every Body wondered at it: For none had hitherto doubted, but that he intended to make this amiable Youth his Successor.

⁶ DCCXXIX.

⁷ *Augustus* used a *Sphinx* for his Seal. — This was a Fiction, not of the *Grecian* or *Italian* Growth, though said to be born near *Thebes*; but the Invention of the *Egyptians*, and one of their Hieroglyphics. — By this Monster they represented *Strength* and *Understanding*; it having a *Lion's* Body and a *human* Face; and upon that Account, I judge it to have been chosen by *Augustus*, who found two of these Engravings among his Mother's Jewels, so perfectly alike, that there was no distinguishing their Impressions (a). — He left one with *Mecenas*, and carried the other himself.

(a) Πρὸς τοῖς δὲ, ἀλλῆς μὲν ἢ ῥώμης, σύμβολον αὐτοῖς ὁ λέων. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ἥς τὴν αὐτῆς, ἢ γεωργίας ἢ τροφῆς ὁ βοῦς; ἀνδρείας τὴν ἢ παρρησίας ὁ ἵππος; ἀλλῆς τε ἀνκαὶ συνέσεως, ἢ Σφίγξ, τὸ μὲν σῶμα πᾶν λέοντος, τὸ πρόσωπον δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἔχουσα. Κλημεντος Ἀλεξ. στωματ.

The Skill, or good Fortune, of the Physician *Antonius Musa* saved *Augustus* from Death, and the Empire from the Confusion it seemed ready to fall into. After trying in vain the usual Method of treating his Disorder, he ventured to prescribe cold Bathing⁷, and a cooling Diet, and by this Means restored the Prince to a better State of Health, than he had ever enjoyed before. — — *Musa* was nobly rewarded: Besides giving him large Sums of Money, *Augustus* raised him from the Station of a Freedman (for the great *Romans* had anciently Physicians among their Slaves⁸, and indeed Professors of many Arts, such as Painting, Music, &c.) to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight. He likewise exempted him from the Payment of all Taxes, and, which must have been highly pleasing to a Man zealous to procure Honor to his Profession, the Emperor extended this Privilege to all Physicians, present and to come⁹. The Senate concurred with *Augustus* in granting these Honors to *Antonius Musa*, and the Citizens taxed

⁷ *Plin.* Lib. XIX. c. 8.

⁸ It is far from my Intention to revive the Controversy so warmly canvassed between that Honor of Learning, Dr. *Mead*, and the keen Dr. *Congers Middleton*. They were both in the Right: — for both, free Men and Slaves, exercised Medecine, and other Arts, at *Rome*; — and both in the Wrong, so far as they restricted these Professions to either one or the other.

⁹ *Suet.* in Aug. LIX.

themselves to erect a Statue to him near that of *Esculapius* ¹.

Augustus's Recovery was soon followed by the Removal of *Agrippa*. That great Man, so long accustomed to hold the first Rank next to the Emperor, could not conceal his Dislike of the Elevation and Expectations of *Marcellus*, whilst this Nephew of the Emperor could not brook being rivalled by *Agrippa*. Their Jealousies rose to such a Height, that *Augustus* saw no Remedy but by giving up *Agrippa*. — This Resolution must have cost him great Struggles. — He endeavoured to color over the Disgrace of his old and faithful Friend, with a specious Appearance of Honor; and accordingly made him Governor of *Syria*, one of the richest and most flourishing Provinces of the Empire. — *Agrippa* not only was not de.

¹ *Antonio Cocchi*, a learned *Florentine*, has published a Dissertation (a) upon the Use of the cold Bath, wherein he takes Occasion to show the Mistake of those who believed *Augustus's* Ailment, which *Antonius Musa* cured by cold Bathings, to have been the Gout; which Error he judges to have arisen from the putting of *Articulare*, for *Arteria*. He believes the Distemper was a *Tabes pituitaria*, fallen upon the Glands, immediately contributing to the first Maceration, viz. of the Mouth, Throat, and *Arteria aspera*; for which *Musa* prescribed cold Gargarisms, and cold Fomentations, or Aspersions of cold Water. — *Suetonius* says expressly, that his Liver was vitiated by Defluxions (b).

(a) Among the *Saggi di Dissertazioni Accademiche pubblicamente lette nella nobile Accademia Etrusca dell' antichissima Città di Cortona*. T. II. Disc. 10.

(b) *Distillationibus Jecinore vitiatō. Octav. §. 81.*

ceived in this, but spoke his Mind freely and openly, calling it an honorable Exile; and, disdain-
ing to put on the Mask that was offered him
to cover his Disgrace, he affected on the contrary
to show it, by sending only his Lieutenants to
Syria, while he himself retired to *Mytilene*, there
to live like a private Man.

Marcellus did not long enjoy the Satisfaction of
having triumphed over his formidable Rival. —
He had but just completed his twentieth Year,
when a mortal Sickness seized, and soon carried
off, this Darling of the People, whose Love and
Esteem he had deservedly acquired by his good
Conduct, Affability, and noble Generosity; and
who flattered themselves, that, if he became
Master, he would one Day restore the Republican
Liberty; still the fond Object of the Wishes of
every *Roman*, from whose Hearts and Memories
it was not entirely erased till a long Time after.
— The same Means which had saved *Augustus*,
used by the same Physician, hastened, or at least
did not prevent, the Death of his Nephew, Son-
in-Law, and intended Successor.

Seneca's Character of this young Prince is very
great², and *Velleius's*, considering from whom it
comes, still greater. — His Courage was undaunted,

² Adolescentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem, sed
& frugalitatis continentiaque in illis annis aut opibus non
mediocriter admirandum, patientem laboris, voluptatibus
alienum, quantumcunque imponere illi avunculus, &, ut
ita dicam, inædificare voluisset, laturum.

Sen. Consol. ad Marc. c. 2.

his Genius vast, and his Temperance and Moderation astonishing, in one so young and in so high a Station. Patient of Labor, and deaf to the Voice of Pleasure, his Talents were equal to the mighty Task for which his Uncle designed him. — *Virgil's* affecting Lines³ alluding to this melancholy Event, Lines in which the deepest Grief is expressed with equal Dignity, drew Tears from the incomparable *Octavia* whenever she heard them, — nor could the Poet himself recite them to *Her* and *Augustus*, without showing the same Marks of Sorrow. — The Rest of her Life was spent in mourning for this justly beloved Son, whom she survived twelve Years. — *Augustus* sincerely shared her Grief; though some modern Writers, straining an Expression of *Tacitus*⁴, and another of *Pliny*⁵, far beyond their Meaning, have not scrupled to suspect him of being concerned in the Death of *Marcellus*. — I do not quite so readily acquit the ambitious *Livia*; though an Epidemical Distemper which prevailed at that Time, and carried off great Numbers, is a Circumstance much in her Favor. The Obsequies of the young Prince were performed with great Pomp. *Augustus* himself pronounced the funeral Oration; and, to perpetuate his Memory, gave

³ Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
Esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, Superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.
Æn. VI. L. 870.

⁴ Breves & infaustos populi Romani amores. *Annal.* II. 41.

⁵ Suspecta Marcelli vota. *Lib.* VII. c. 45.

his Name to that vast Theatre, of which the superb Remains are a Proof now extant of the amazing Magnificence of the *Romans*. The Senate decreed a golden Statue of *Marcellus*, and ordered it to be placed in a Curule Chair, between the Seats of the Ediles, at all their public Games, that he might seem still to preside with them on those Occasions.

It now became necessary to soothe *Agrippa*; as a Step towards which, *Augustus* went to the Senate-House, took with him his Will, and offered to read it to the whole Assembly: — But being prevented by their unanimous Request, he insisted on letting them know that he had not appointed any one to succeed him in the Government. This Reserve was pleasing to the whole Nation; but, above all, it showed his Regard for *Agrippa*, between whom and *Marcellus* he had not taken any Party. He was, however, in no Hurry to recal him: — Perhaps not to show too plainly the real Cause of his Removal, or to acknowledge publicly that he had sacrificed him to his Nephew's Jealousy.

Eight Years had elapsed since the Battle of *Actium*, and People were quite accustomed to acknowledge a legal Right of Command in *Augustus*, and to obey him as the supreme Head of the Republic. For this Reason the Consulship, necessary whilst his personal Authority was not firmly established, appeared to him now of no other Use than to resign it; thereby to acquire, with the Multitude, the Merit of Moderation. — I say, with

the *Multitude*; — for Men of Sense could not but see, that, by resigning the Consulship, and continuing to govern, he *in Fact* declared the Right of Command inherent in his own Person, independent of that Title which had hitherto characterized the chief Magistracy among the *Romans*. — Taking Care, however, as much as possible, to conceal his deep-laid Plan; he artfully alledged that his high Office was too great a Burden for one Man to bear continually, as he had done for several Years past; and that it was but just that other Citizens should share the Honors of the State. These Arguments were not unanswerable, and he was strongly pressed to accept of the Consulship for the twelfth Time: — But his Resolution was taken. To avoid further Importunities, he retired to his Country-Seat at *Alba*, and from thence sent his Resignation of the remaining Part of his eleventh Consulship, in Favor of *L. Sestius*, a Gentleman of distinguished Birth and great Merit; who had been in the strictest Friendship with *Brutus* until his Death, had attended him in all his Wars, was his Pay-master at *Philippi*, and had never been able to forget the Virtues of the *Patriot*, and the Charms of his Conversation. — *Antony* had made him great Offers, at the Beginning of the War, if he would betray his Friend: but he disdained them, and was proscribed. — Upon the Death of that magnanimous *Assertor of Liberty*, he returned home, was reconciled to the Young *Cæsar*, and recommended to him for what he was. — *Cæsar* went one Day to

pay him a Visit. *Sestius* entertained him some Time with the Company, and after a While took him into an inner Apartment, where the first Thing he saw was a Picture of *Brutus*. *Cæsar*, now a very different Man from what he was when he fought against him, commended *Sestius's* Attachment and Sincerity, and, not long after, advanced him to this high Office, though he knew that he was then writing a Panegyric upon *Brutus*.*

Augustus grew good at first through Fear and political Considerations, and finding that Method succeed, he continued in it until it became habitual, and at last natural. — The Tranquillity and Happiness of his latter Years is a great Proof that

* There are two Medals of *Brutus*, struck, it would seem, by *Sestius's* Orders, in *Fulv. Ursini's Familie Rom.* p. 244. *Brutus'* or *Sestius'* Head. L. SESTIV. PRO Q. (*Proquaestor*). On the Reverse, a Tripod with a sacrificing Ax on one Side and a Simpulum on the other. Q. COEPIO BRVTVS PRO COS. Another with the same Inscription and Emblems, save that there is a pileus for the Simpulum; but instead of the Head upon the Reverse, there is a large Pileus betwixt two Daggers set upright; and above them L. SESTI. and under them PRO Q. The Medal struck by *Brutus* himself had his own Head, and BRVTV. IMP. L. PLAET. CEST. round it. And on the Reverse the Pileus betwixt the two Daggers with their Points turned down, and under them EID. M. R. — *Sestius* seems to have overseen them both. *Brutus* had the Name *Cæpio* either from his Mother, *Q. Servilius Cæpio's* Daughter, or by Adoption from his Grandfather or Uncle. *Cicero* calls him *Q. Cæpio Brutus* two or three Times in the 10th. *Philippic*.

Virtue is the best Policy. — But his Passions had passed through their natural Periods. His Youth was full of Debauchery and Cruelty; Ambition never left him. But at about the Age of two or three-and-thirty, his Fire was evaporated, he began to dislike Violence, and loved Order and Modesty in others, though he could hardly attain to them himself. — Nor did it contribute a little to make him easy in his Government, that by this Time the general Humor was turned to private Magnificence and elegant Living. — While a Man is busied about the Model of his House, the Slope of his Cascade, or the Economy of a Dinner, he is in no Hazard of disturbing the State. A certain Courtliness accompanies that Kind of Life, which makes a Man unwilling to do or say a disobliging Thing. — It fits admirably well in private Life, but is the Bane of the Public, where a Fault once over-looked, becomes a Precedent, and makes Way for entailing the Abuse, to the Ruin of Posterity.

His nobly resigning the Consulate to *L. Sestius* charmed every one, who still retained any Esteem for the old Defenders of the Republican Government, and became an additional Motive to the Senate to replace, by new Titles, that which he had thus laid down. They, therefore, secretly prompted by his Friends and Agents, decreed him the Proconsular Power, for Life, whenever he should be out of *Rome*, without being subject to the Formality of resigning, or resuming it, upon his returning to, or departing from the

City, as had been practised in the Time of the Republic. — In Virtue of this Power, he was to have, in whatever Province he might be, a Command superior to the actual Governor of that Province. — The same Privilege had been granted, in the East, to *Pompey*, *Brutus*, and *Cassius*. — But *Augustus*, in Order to have the same Power in *Rome*, as was given him over the Provinces, artfully found Means, some Time after, to be vested with the Prerogatives and Authority of Consul, even when he did not discharge the Functions of that Office; and assumed all the Marks of Honor belonging to it, the twelve Fasces, and the Curule Chair between the Seats of the two Consuls.

For the same Reasons the *Tribunician Power*, offered several Times before, and as often refused, was accepted now; though the actual Exercise of the Office of Tribune, reserved for Plebeians only, was beneath his Dignity. By this convenient Distinction, used before by the Dictator *Cæsar*, he enjoyed the Benefits, without the Trouble, of this almost despotic Magistracy. In Consequence of this Power, nothing could be done without his Approbation, either in the Senate, or the Assemblies of the People; and his Person became sacred and inviolable: For not only any Attempt against the Life of a Tribune, but even the slightest Offence, the least Want of Respect, was deemed an impious and unpardonable Crime. — *Augustus's* Successors took dreadful Advantages of this Privilege, which, though given to them

for Life, they made a Show of renewing every Year, and the Duration of their Reigns is reckoned by the Years of their *Tribunician* Power.

A remarkable Instance of the unbounded Power of the Tribunes in the Time of the Republic (and we may readily conclude that it lost nothing of its Weight in the Hands of the Emperors), is thus recorded by the younger *Pliny* ⁷. — *Metellus Macedonicus*, one of the best and greatest Men in Rome, revered by all, and pointed out as an illustrious Example of the highest Grandeur and Felicity that Mortals can enjoy, passing one Day through the Forum, at a Time when it was empty, was laid hold of by *Catinius Labeo*, then a Tribune, whom he had formerly expelled from the Senate, as Censor. *Catinius* put a Rope about *Metellus's* Neck, and dragged him to the *Tarpeian* Rock, to be thrown down headlong as a Malefactor. His Children and Friends could not reach him but on the Brink of Ruin; and even then they could only attend him to his Death, not daring to resist the revengeful Tribune, till, with the utmost Difficulty, they found another Tribune, who interposed. Yet *Labeo* died in Peace; though *Metellus* and his Family continued in Splendor, and held the highest Offices of the Commonwealth.

In Return for the excessive, the iniquitous, Complaisance of the Senate, *Augustus* promised always to consult the Conscript Fathers in Matters relative to the State, to pay the greatest Regard

⁷ *Lib. VII. c. 44.*

to their Sentiments, and to share with them the Administration of Affairs. And indeed he kept this Promise, so far as frequently to alter his Designs, in Consequence of their Representations, and to make them his Partners in Transactions of the greatest Splendor. — *Phraates*, by his Ambassadors, and *Tiridates*, in Person, were renewing their Solicitations to interest the *Romans* in their Quarrel. *Tiridates* requested the Help of their Arms to put him in undisturbed Possession of the Crown of *Parthia*, which he had worn some Time: Whilst *Phraates*, who had been expelled by *Tiridates*, and afterwards restored by the *Scythians*, pretended that his Enemy ought to be delivered up to him as a rebellious Slave, and demanded the Restitution of his Son, whom *Tiridates* had carried away into the *Roman* Territories. *Augustus* ordered both Parties to apply to the Senate, and the Senate referred them back to him; but he did not chuse to satisfy either. He was by no Means disposed to undertake a War against the *Parthians*, merely to oblige *Tiridates*; nor did he think he ought to give up a suppliant Prince who had fled to him for Refuge. As to *Phraates's* Son, he agreed to send him back to his Father, on Condition that this last should restore the Prisoners and Standards which the *Parthians* had taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*. — But *Phraates* was in no Hurry to fulfil this Condition.

A chief Part of *Augustus's* Cunning lay in preserving the old Forms of a free Government, and in endeavouring, under that Veil, to keep his

Usurpation from Sight. — What Patrician could say he was a Slave, while the Senate decreed, the People voted, the Consuls commanded, as they had used to do? Or what Plebeian could complain, while he had his all-powerful Protectors, the Tribunes, to assert his Rights and revenge his Wrongs? — For all the Magistrates were continued in their Titles, Ensigns, and Tribunals*. — But *Cæsar* devised the Evasion of investing himself, a Senator, with the Tribunician Power, and thereby accumulated this imperious civil Power, with the military, in his own Person. — No Lesson of his Government, which his adopted Successor learned so perfectly as this. When exercising the highest Acts of Tyranny, *Tiberius* traiterously employed the Language of Liberty, and imprisoned, murdered, tortured, under the legal Forms of a free State. — An awful Warning to a Nation blessed with Liberty, never to suffer themselves to be blinded with an *Appearance* of ancient Forms, or deceived with *Words*, while the *Spirit of Liberty* is in the least Danger.

The Year of Rome DCCXXX, in which *M. Claudius Marcellus Eserninus* and *L. Arruntius* (which last commanded the left Wing of *Octavius's* Fleet in the Battle of *Actium*) were Consuls, was unfortunate to Rome and Italy. The City was overflowed by Inundations of the *Tiber*, and the whole Country was afflicted with pestilential Distempers,

* Eadem Magistratum Vocabula, says *Tacitus*, with a strong Irony.

which began, indeed, before the End of the preceding Year, and swept away such Numbers, that the Lands remained uncultivated, and a Dearth ensued. — The superstitious Mob, imputing these Calamities to the Anger of the Gods, because *Augustus* did not hold any Magistracy this Year, ran tumultuously to the Senate-house, and threatened to set it on Fire while the Fathers were assembled, if they did not declare him Dictator. The Senators, who were better acquainted with the Emperor's Intentions, resisted as long as they could, but were at last forced to comply; upon which the Rioters hastened to present him the twenty-four Fasces. *Augustus*, rebuking them for their Impetuosity, refused the odious Title (which could not have added to the Power he was already possessed of), and, even kneeling down to them, rent his Garment, and presented his bare Bosom, to signify that he would rather have a Dagger plunged into his Heart, than be made Dictator'. — However, to appease the Multitude, he accepted the Superintendance of Provisions, which was offered him at the same Time, on the same Footing as *Pompey* had had it before: — But, as the numerous Affairs of the Empire could not allow him personally to enter into a Detail of this Kind, he ordered two ancient Pretors to be chosen every Year, who, under his Authority, should take Care that *Rome* was properly supplied with Provisions, and Corn duly distributed to the poor Citizens.

^a *Suet. Aug. LII.*

The Censorship was likewise offered him for Life. In Consequence of the System of *seeming* Modesty which he had before laid down, he refused that Office, and caused it to be given to *Paulus Emilius Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus*. The former of these had been proscribed: — doubtless with his Father, *L. Paulus*, Brother to *Lepidus* the Triumvir. *Plancus*, whose Brother *Plotus* had likewise been proscribed, was a Man of Wit and Pleasure, and of no mean Talents, either for civil or military Affairs. To give him the highest Commendation, a good Heart, and a little more Temperance, would have made him a truly great Man; almost another *Messala*. A little before he was Censor, he led a Colony to *Lugdunum* (*Lyons*), founded at the Conflux of the *Arar* (the *Saone*,) and the *Rhône*, which grew to be a great City, beautified with many noble public Structures, each of which might have served to ornament a Town. — Just a hundred Years after its Foundation, this flourishing Place was burnt to the Ground in one Night, so that scarce a Vestige of it or them remained. — This was the last Censorship held by two private Men. The Emperors, from henceforth, either kept it wholly to themselves, or, at most, and that very seldom, vouchsafed to make a single Citizen their Colleague; though, without assuming the Title, they had, in Fact, all the Power of this Magistracy, as Superintendants and Reformers of the Laws and Manners.

Plancus and *Pollio* were Rivals in all Respects, for civil, military, and literary Reputation; — both Commanders, both Orators, both Authors, and both contending who should stand highest, first in *Antony's* Favor, and then in the good Graces of *Augustus*. *Pollio's* overbearing Spirit, and *Plancus's* Complacency, turned the Scale in Favor of the latter as to personal Liking: but *Pollio's* unblemished Character, and the Integrity of his Life, depressed *Plancus* in public, to such a Degree, that he stood in Need of all his noble Descent and dear-bought Favor to support him.

It was during the Censorship of *Paulus* and *Plancus*, that *Augustus*, availing himself of his Authority as Reformer of the Laws and Manners, introduced several new Regulations, for the better Order and Tranquillity of the Public. He subjected to stricter Rules, or even abolished entirely, all Associations of the trading, or other Companies, in *Rome*, which had often been made a Handle of to form seditious Cabals and dangerous Factions: He moderated the Expenses of Shows and Games, limiting the Sum the Pretors should be allowed to expend, and assigning them out of the public Treasure wherewith to defray the extraordinary Charges. He forbade even Magistrates giving Combats of Gladiators without special Leave of the Senate, and even then not oftener than twice a Year, nor more than sixty Couple at a Time; a Circumstance which shows to what Height this Abuse was carried. He ordered, that neither the Sons or Grand-Sons of
Senators,

Senators, *Roman* Knights, or Women of Quality, should ever more take the indecent Liberty of performing on the Stage, though he had hitherto tolerated, and even authorized it on some Occasions; and, as *Egnatius Rufus*, when Edile, had given himself great Airs in boasting that, with his own Slaves only, he had stopt several Fires in *Rome*, *Augustus*, to take away all Pretence from such as might be inclined to imitate the Rashness of that young Man, assigned the Curule Ediles six hundred Slaves, who were to be always ready to obey their Orders whenever Fires should break out in the City.

The *Romans* now began to taste the Sweets of their new Government: The Means by which it had been established were forgot; and nothing was talked of but *Augustus's* transcendent Goodness, his indefatigable Zeal for the public Welfare, and his admirable Moderation in his private Life, such as put him almost upon a Level with every other Citizen. — In Effect, he took all possible Care that no Man should have Cause to wish for a Change. The Glory of the State, and the Happiness of each Individual, became really the Objects of his most serious Attention. He had sheathed the Sword of Discord at the Age of about three-and-thirty; and now sat down, fully determined to make his Country amends for the Evils he had made her suffer. — One of his Courtiers taking Occasion from hence to tell him, that he had outstripped *Alexander* the Great, who, at the same Age, had finished his Conquests, but could not

think what he should find to do the Rest of his Life : *It is very strange*, replied the young *Cæsar*, if he did not apprehend the Ordering and Governing of a great Empire, to be a harder Task than the conquering it ¹.

The Blessings which emanated from the peaceable Reign of *Augustus*, were not confined to *Rome* and *Italy* alone. The Provinces, before harassed and plundered by the Avidity of the Pretors, tormented by as many petty Tyrants as there came into them *Romans* in any Office, distracted and exhausted by civil Wars, now began to recover from all those Ills, under a Prince who, whilst he caused Peace to reign, knew how to make the Laws be respected, and studied to distribute equal Justice.

This Calm and Tranquillity, which constituted the Happiness of the *Augustan* Age, have rendered its History more dry and less entertaining. — It were not to be wished, for the Sake of Mankind, that the Times in which they live should afford Writers a plentiful Harvest of such Events as are most apt to interest and affect their Readers. — Besides, by the new Constitution of the State, public Affairs, being now become quite foreign to many of the Citizens, were entirely unknown to them ²; nor had they Opportunities of being informed of what passed in a Privy Council, as they formerly knew what was done in the Assemblies of the Senate, or those of the People. — We

¹ *Plut.* in *Aug.*

² *Inscitia Reipublicæ, ut alienæ.* *Tacit.* *Hist.* *Lib.* *I.*

find, indeed, that the Pens of some bright Geniuses were once employed on these less fruitful Times: but, unfortunately, their Works are lost. — *Dion Cassius* is almost the only one we have left: — but he is not always to be credited; and therefore, besides his being evidently a Sycophant Court-Historian, he is little able to make Amends for the Deficiency of the Rest. *Velleius* is an Abreviator, infected with the Poison of Flattery. *Suetonius* is a Biographer, and not a Historian: — His Accounts are curious and interesting, fit to give us a Knowledge of the Persons of the Emperors he speaks of; but they are not a Series of Facts, nor do they make us acquainted with the secret Springs and Causes of Actions. The contemporary Poets afford now and then a Hint, and others may sometimes be gleaned from later Writers. — This is what *Freinshemius* has attempted with extraordinary Success: but he, like the Epitomiser of *Livy*, ends with the Death of *Drusus*; nor can his Work, even so far, be said to form a regular connected Tissue, though compiled with great Care, Accuracy, and Judgment.

Augustus, now the most popular of Men, attended the Assemblies of the People for the Election of Magistrates, and the Courts of Justice; whenever his Vote could contribute to promote the deserving, or his Presence help to redress the injured'. — An old Soldier, who had a Law-Suit depending, begged of him to be present at the Decision of it. *Augustus* answered, that he was then

³ *Suet.* Aug. 51 — 56.

too busy, but would send one of his Friends. Cæsar, replied the Veteran, *when there was Occasion to fight for you, I went myself, and did not send another for me.* Augustus, pleased with the Repartee, went in Person to the Court, to show that he interested himself in the Soldier's Cause*. This Behaviour exposed him sometimes to a pert Insolence, which he generally passed over with a Smile. — One *M. Primus* being accused of having made War upon the *Odrysi*, a People of *Thrace*, of his own private Authority, alledged that he had the Emperor's Orders. *Augustus*, voluntarily, went into Court, and being interrogated by the Pretor, (for he would answer the Interrogatories of the Magistrates, as if he had been but a private Man), answered, that he had not given *Primus* any such Orders. *Licinius Muræna*, Advocate for the Accused, took *Augustus* up with great Warmth and Haughtiness, and among other disobliging Things, *What Business have you here?* said he, *What have you to do with this Affair?* — *The public Interest*, answered *Augustus* mildly, *which it is not lawful for me to neglect*†.

Strictly observing the Ties and Duties of private Friendship, he visited his Friends in their Sickness, or when extraordinary Events happened in their Families, such as Marriage, their Children taking the manly Robe, and other such like Occurrences: Nor did he leave off this Custom till

* *Macrob. Sat. II. 4.*

† *Dio.*

very late, after having been much squeezed in a Crowd at a Wedding⁶.

He seldom refused an Invitation to dine with any of the Citizens. One Day, being invited to a very bad Dinner, as badly dressed, all he said to the Master of the House at going away, was, *I did not think we had been so intimate*⁷.

Though he bestowed much upon his Friends, he did not pretend to raise them above the Laws, or to strain Justice in their Favor. *Nonius Asprænas*, who was greatly attached to him, being accused of having poisoned a Subject of the Empire, *Augustus* desired the Senate to direct him how to behave, being apprehensive, said he, that if he backed *Nonius* with his Recommendation, he might seem to screen a Man accused from the Rigor of the Laws; and if he did not, it might be thought that he abandoned a Friend, and himself condemned him before-hand. By the Advice of the Senators, he took a middle Way: He went to the Trial, but said nothing; soliciting for *Nonius* only by his Presence. Yet even this Reserve could not stop the Mouth of the Accuser, *Cassius Severus*, a Man of a violent Temper, and ungovernable Tongue, who complained bitterly that the Emperor's Presence saved a Criminal deserving the greatest Punishments⁸.

⁶ *Suet.*

⁷ *Macrob. Saturnal. II. 4.*

⁸ *Plin. Lib. XXXV. c. 12.*

The Instances of his Moderation towards such as behaved disrespectfully to him, or attacked him in their Discourses, or in Libels, are numerous. — Being disturbed every Night by the shrieking of an Owl at a Country-House where he chanced to be, he wished to get rid of it. A Soldier caught the Bird alive, and brought it to him, in Hopes of a great Reward. *Augustus*, ordered him a thousand Sesterces, (8l. 2sh. 6d.) but the Soldier, who expected much more, let the Owl fly away, saying, *I had rather it should live*°. — Yet this Insolence passed unpunished.

Augustus was now become equally mild in Things of greater Moment. — *Rufus*, a Man of Quality, had taken it into his Head, at an Entertainment, to wish openly that *Cæsar* might never return from a Journey he was then going to undertake, and gave his Word for it, that every Cow and Calf in *Italy* wished the same. There were People enough to observe and pick up this Discourse, and among the Rest, a favorite Slave who had stood behind him at Supper. In the Morning, as soon as *Rufus* was awake and sober, this honest Fellow went to him, told him what he had blabbed in his Liquor, and advised him, to prevent the Emperor's getting it from another, to go immediately to him himself, and be his own Accuser. *Rufus* took his Counsel, went, presented himself before *Augustus*, and after swearing that he had been disordered in his Mind the Day before, prayed that the Confe-

° *Macrob. Sat. II. 4.*

quences of his rash Wish might fall upon himself, and his Children; wherefore he humbly entreated *Cæsar* to forgive him, and re-admit him into his Favor. He readily did so. — But, Sir, said the Offender, nobody will believe that I am really restored to your Friendship, unless your Goodness will condescend to give some visible Proof of it: — and thereupon asked a considerable Sum, and got it. At his going away, after the Thanks befitting the Occasion, he promised the greatest Gratitude and Circumspection: — *And I, said Cæsar, shall be careful, for my own Sake, not to be angry with you*¹.

He did not, however, always flight the odious Imputations by which some endeavoured to blacken him. His Care of his Reputation induced him to refute them, either in Speeches pronounced before the Senate, or by Declarations published in his Name; but he had no Idea of taking Revenge for them. — When his Tyrant-Successor exhorted him in his Letters to revenge himself for an Insult of that Kind; “My dear *Tiberius*,” said *Augustus*, in his Answer to him, “do not “give Way too much to the Vivacity of your “Age, and be not so angry with those who speak “ill of me; it is sufficient that we prevent their “doing us any”².

Being at *Milan*, (then *Insubrium*,) in the Year of *Rome* DCCXXXVI, he observed a Statue of

¹ *Seneca*, de Benef. Lib. III. §. 27.

² *Suet.* Aug. LI.

Brutus, which the Inhabitants of *Cisalpine Gaul* had erected there, as a Monument of their Gratitude towards the mildest and best of Governors. He passed by it; — then stopping, and assuming a stern Look and angry Voice, taxed the Magistrates with harbouring among them one of his greatest Enemies. The *Gauls*, amazed and terrified, endeavoured to justify themselves, and denied the Fact. *What!* said he, turning round, and pointing to the Statue of *Brutus*, *is not that the Enemy of my Name and Family?* Then, seeing them confused and silent, he smiled, commended their Attachment to their Friends, even in their Misfortunes, and ordered that the Statue should remain³.

He treated with the same Equity the Memories of all the old Defenders of the *Roman Liberty*. — One of his Courtiers, thinking to please him by blaming *Cato*, accused that rigid Republican of being intractably obstinate. *I would have you to know*, said *Augustus*, *that whoever opposes a Change in the established Form of Government is a good Citizen, and an honest Man*⁴. — Words full of Dignity and sound Sense, by which he did *Cato* Justice, and prevented the bad Consequences that might be drawn from his Example.

Virgil and *Horace* were therefore sensible they ran no Hazard of losing his Favor by praising

³ *Plut.* in *Brut.*

⁴ *Macrob.* *Saturnal.* II. 4.

Cato, as they both have done⁵. — *Livy*, in the latter Books of his History, unhappily lost, had done such Justice to *Pompey*, the Senate, and the Friends of Liberty, that *Augustus*, in Jest, called him a *Pompeian*, which in the Court-Language, was a Rebel, equivalent to our *Jacobite*; — yet never looked upon him the colder for it.

Livy had been a Soldier, and was thereby the better qualified to write the History of the most martial of all Nations. He died at *Padua*, the Place of his Nativity, in the 76th Year of his Age, and the fourth of the Reign of *Tiberius*⁶: A Year likewise remarkable for the Death of the Poet *Ovid*, who perished in his Exile in *Scythia*; after having exhausted, for near eight Years, all his Wit and Knowledge in humble and earnest Entreaties, and lamentable Complaints, without being able to obtain his Pardon either from *Augustus* or *Tiberius*.

Livy had a Daughter, married to *L. Magius*, whose Eloquence, (declaiming being then the Mode,) was applauded by his Friends, rather, as the elder *Seneca* informs us⁷, for his Father-in-

⁵ *Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem.*

Virg. Æn. VIII. L. 870.

*Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*

Hor. Od. II. 1.

⁶ *Euseb. Chron.*

⁷ *Proem. Lib. V. Controv.*

Law's Sake, than for his own; and a Son, whom he advised to study *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* in the first Place; and then to read other Authors, as they best and nearest resembled these great Originals. He advised *Claudius*, (who was afterwards Emperor) when young, to write the History of his own Times; which he did, by no Means inelegantly, though not with Judgment. — Naturally candid, and fond of Men of Genius, *Livy* gives an ample Testimony to *Cicero's* Virtues. He was somewhat jealous of *Sallust's* Reputation, and obliquely detracts from him by a Comparison with *Thucydides*. — *Pliny* says * he had written in the Beginning of one of the Volumes of his History, "That he had already attained sufficient Glory, and might end there:" To which this Animadvertor adds farther, in the Preface to his vast Work, an Expression, inadvertently dropt from *Livy's* Pen, purporting, *that an Itch of Writing made him continue his History* *. — Whatever might be his Motive, his Performance is inimitable; and the Loss of Part of it can never be too much regretted. Besides his History, he wrote *Dialogues*,

* Præfat. ad Vespasian.

* Profeor mirari me T. Livium, autorem celeberrimum, in historiarum suarum, quas repetit ab Origine Urbis, quodam Volumine sic orsum; *Satis jam sibi gloria questum, & potuisse se desinere, ni animus inquires opere pasceretur.* Profecto enim, Populi Gentium Victoris, & Romani Nominis Gloriæ, non suæ, composuisse illa decuit. Majus meritum esset, Operis amore, non Animi causâ perseverasse, & hoc Populo Romano præstitisse, non sibi.

of a mixed Nature, historico-philosophical; and other Pieces, expressly treating of Philosophy.

The mad Wretch *Caligula* had a great Mind to destroy all *Livy's* Works (which, *Seneca* says, were as numerous as those of *Epicurus*), and those of *Virgil*: Nor did even *Homer* escape his frantic Virulence. He wanted much to suppress his Poems; asking, why he should have less Power and Liberty than *Plato*, who banished that Poet from his Republic.

*Seneca*¹, extolling one *Fabianus*, as a Roman Philosopher, allows him to be inferior to *Cicero*, to *Asinius Pollio*, and to *Livy*. — But consider, says he, how many that Man must surpass, who is inferior only to three; and those the most eloquent we have. It was surely out of Flattery to *Augustus*, that *Livy* leaves it a Problem, *Whether it had been better for the Common-Weal that C. J. Cæsar, had, or had not, been born*².

Livy, *Cremutius Cordus*, and *Lucan*, by fixing their Attention on, and feeding their Fancy with, the Glories of ancient *Rome*, were struck with the Spirit of *Liberty*, and infuse it into their Readers. It was the greatest Service they could do to their Country; — and no small Moderation in the Men in Power to suffer and bear with it.

¹ Epist. 100.

² In incerto esse, utrum illum magis nasci Reipublicæ profuerit, an non nasci.

To this soaring Spirit I attribute the sublime Sentiments in *Lucan*, and his ardent Expressions. — Nor do I much wonder that a Man, touched with a true Sense of real Grandeur, and susceptible of exalted Feelings, should, like the inimitable *Corneille*, think *Lucan* the Prince of the *Roman* Poets. — *Virgil* is more labored, more smooth, more artful, more imitated; for strip the *Eneid* of its borrowed Beauties, and you will leave it almost a Skeleton. — The *Pharsalia* is rougher, more unequal, more soaring, and more original.

Great Eloquence can only be found in great Causes, able to rouse the highest Passions, and keep them up to their Pitch by popular Struggles. It is the *Subject* that calls forth the Orator; and the Passions of the Audience, by a secret but powerful Sympathy, kindle in his Breast those Fires, which flash from his Eyes, and burst from his Mouth. The two Pieces of the highest Eloquence upon Record, are the Produce of the two greatest Struggles for Life and Liberty. When all was at stake, — when the cunning and grasping *Philip* was oppressing one little State after another, holding out Chains to *Athens*, and threatening *Greece* with universal Slavery, — it was then, that, to lay open his Designs, and to animate free Men to oppose them, *Demosthenes* produced that Monument of his Fame, the wonderful *Philippics*. — In the same Manner, when Destruction was hanging over the *Roman* Empire, — when their Laws, Liberties, Lives, Estates, and the very Being of the Republic, were ready to be swallowed up by

Antony and the Veterans; at *that* dangerous Crisis did *Cicero* pour out to the Senate and People those high Strains of Patriotism, which justly eternize his Memory. Both these great Men undertook many other, either private, or less important public Causes, and their Pleadings are upon Record; — eloquent indeed, and beautiful: but no more comparable to the rapid, irresistible Spirit of their *Philippics*, than a Shadow is to the Substance. *Quintilian's* Account of the Decay of Roman Eloquence, is therefore exactly just. — What Pity, that the Times did not permit him to speak out; or that he should be afraid of plainly upbraiding his Country with the abject Slavery into which it was fallen!

I scarcely know a greater Instance of the Depravity introduced into human Nature by a continued Tyranny, than the opprobrious Names given to one of the noblest and best of Men, *Cremutius Cordus*, by the later *Cæsarean* Faction. — The Court-Style, in *Tiberius's* Time, was to call him a Robber, a Traitor, a Miscreant, a Parricide, and every Thing that is bad. The Pretence made Use of by that Tyrant, for driving him to Death³, was his having written Annals wherein he praised *Brutus*, and, in *Brutus's* Style, called his great Friend *Cassius*, the last of the real Romans. — But the true Cause was, that he had offended *Sejanus* by some sarcastical Expressions. — He had unluckily said, that *Sejanus* had not Patience to wait till

³ A. U. DCCLXXV.

another should exalt him above all the *Romans*, but was mounting himself thither: And upon the placing of a Statue of that execrable Minister, (the Favorite of one of the most detestable of Princes) in *Pompey's Theatre*, (which, after having been burnt down, was rebuilt by *Tiberius*); Now, cried *Cremutius*, we may truly say, that *Pompey's Theatre is fallen*.

Sejanus, who could not forgive him these satirical Strokes, set on him two of his Clients, or, as *Seneca* calls them, two of his Mastiffs, whom he fed with human Blood; tame to him alone, and fierce to all the World besides. — Nor did *Tiberius* hide his Indignation against a daring Author, who had presumed to praise Men that were then universally considered as Traitors and Parricides.

Cremutius, finding that his Destruction was resolved, determined on Death; and having consequently no Measures to keep, he pleaded his Cause in the Senate with the utmost Constancy and Courage. “My Actions,” said he, “Fathers*!
“ are so innocent, that my Words only are accused: But neither is it pretended, that any Words
“ of mine are pointed at the Sacred Persons comprehended in the Law against violated Majesty.
“ I am accused of having praised *Brutus* and
“ *Cassius*; Men whose Stories many have written,
“ and of whom all have spoken honorably.”
After proving this by the Examples of *Livy*, *Pollio*,

* *Tacit. Annal. Lib. IV.*

and *Messala*; he alledged the Panegyric of *Cato*, composed by *Cicero*, under the Eyes of the Dictator *Cæsar*, who contented himself with answering it by a similar Production; and Numbers of other Pieces then in being, *Antony's* Letters, *Brutus's* Speeches, Verses of *Catullus*, all full of opprobrious Defamations of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*. — “ But these
“ great Men, added he, were patient: — they
“ even let those Writings remain unsuppressed: —
“ and, in such a Conduct, I will venture to say,
“ there was as much Prudence as Moderation.
“ For such Things, when despised, are forgotten;
“ but if you wax angry, you seem to avow them
“ for true. — If any Thing is perfectly free, if
“ any Thing be exempt from all Jurisdiction, it
“ is our Judgment on such, as, being no longer
“ of the Number of the Living, cannot prejudice
“ us either in their Favor or Disfavor. Are *Cassius*
“ and *Brutus* now in Arms? Do their Troops
“ now fill the Plains of *Philippi*? Or do I fire
“ the Roman People, by inflammatory Harangues,
“ with the Spirit of Civil Rage? *Brutus* and *Cassius*,
“ slain above seventy Years ago, subsist now only
“ in their Statues, which even the Conqueror did
“ not destroy, and in their Characters, which
“ the Historian perpetuates. — Impartial Posterity
“ does Justice to every Man; and if I am con-
“ demned, not only the Names of *Brutus* and
“ *Cassius* will not be thereby obliterated, but even
“ mine, when blended with theirs, will be co-
“ immortal.” Having thus said, he left the Senate,
retired to his own House, and ended his Life by

Abstinence. The servile Senators ordered his Writings to be burnt by the Ediles; but they still continued to be secretly dispersed. — Hence, continues *Tacitus*, we may justly mock the Stupidity of those, who imagine that they can, by present Power, extinguish the Lights and Memory of succeeding Times; for, on the contrary, the Punishment of the Writer exalts the Credit of the Writing; nor did ever Kings, or any else, who exercised this Kind of Cruelty, reap other Fruit from it, than Infamy to themselves, and Glory to the Sufferers.

Augustus's Affability was particularly shown to the Senators, who indeed well deserved it; for never was a Set of more complaisant Men. He excused them from all troublesome Ceremonies, and would not let them wait on him at his Palace, to conduct him from thence to the Senate-House, but received their Compliments there, and returned them with the most cordial Familiarity. Even the lowest of the Citizens were admitted to his Presence, delivered their Petitions into his own Hand, and were sure of being heard and righted: — for he was now become so strict an Observer of the Laws, that he respected the Property of every Individual to such a Degree as to make a Square, which he built in *Rome*, less than it would otherwise have been, rather than force the Owners of some circumjacent Houses to part with their Ground.

He would not suffer any one to call him *Lord* and *Master*, because this Title seemed to imply
that

that others were *Slaves*. Being one Day at a Play, in which a Line, signifying *O the good Master, O the equitable Lord!* was repeated with great Emphasis; the whole Company immediately turned towards him, and unanimously applied those Words to him: But, with a Look and Gesture full of Indignation, *Augustus* instantly rejected the fulsome Compliment, and the next Day reprimanded the People severely by a Declaration posted up in the Forum. From that Time, he would not allow his Children or Grand-children ever to give him that Appellation, either seriously, or even in Play; and forbad them to use among themselves any of those unmeaning Blandishments, which a servile and mistaken Politeness, as it was called, was beginning to introduce — His Successors were not so squeamish. The bad ones, *Tiberius* excepted, not content with the Name of *Master*, affected even that of *God*; and at last the good ones accepted the former of these Titles, which Custom, had then established. *Pliny*, in all his Letters to *Trajan*, never calls him any Thing but *Domine, Lord, Master*.

If, for political Reasons hinted at before, *Augustus* suffered divine Honors to be paid to him in the Provinces; he was so far from being fond of, that he would often laugh at them. A Deputation from the People of *Tarragona* coming to acquaint him, as of a fortunate and happy Omen, that a Palm-Tree had sprung up on the Altar raised to him in their City; *I see by that*, answered

he, smiling, *how careful you are to burn Incense on my Altar.*

Men are influenced by numerous and unforeseen Accidents. A Question about the Form of Dress or Church-Government occupies the Thoughts and Studies of the Wise, and employs the Passions of the Vulgar, in one Age; that is absolutely forgot, or becomes the Object of sovereign Contempt, in the next. — Hence the Impossibility of a lasting Scheme of Government. — It must be fitted to their Fortunes, obnoxious to Chance, and swayed by public Caprice. — It is absurd that one Model should not be better than another; and ridiculous from *Harrington's* Maxims to plan a perpetual self-moved Machine. — It is Chatter all, and modern Futility: The Mean is golden: Accidents are inconceivable. — *Massanello* commanded *Naples*. — *Lillibulero* brought about the Revolution. — *Long live great George our King* baffled the Rebellion. — And old *Cromarty* (or *Andrew Fletcher of Salton*,) said he would let who would make the *Laws* of a Country, give him but the making of the *Ballads*.

Plato's Republic (in which a just Stress is laid on the Power of Music) is no Chimera. — It is easy and practicable, upon the same Terms that any other Form of Government will be accepted or submitted to. — Every Government is suited to the *Manners* of the People that live under it. — No People accustomed to Luxury and Ease will submit to hardy Living and a severe Discipline, but through inevitable *Necessity*. It was *Necessity*

that forced the *Romans* and *Lacedemonians* upon military Virtue and Agriculture: And when the same Necessity, or Train of Necessities, exerts its Power upon any People, they would accept of *Plato's* Plan, or any other, how severe soever, that bid fairest to rescue them for the present, and secure them from relapsing for the future.

The Mildness and Equity of *Augustus's* Government, for such it was now really become, could not prevent Plots and Conspiracies. In the Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus Eserninus* and *L. Arruntius* ⁵, a Design was formed against the Emperor's Life, by *Fannius Cæpio* ⁶, and *A. Terentius Varro Muræna* ⁷; but their Machinations

⁵ A. U. DCCXXX.

⁶ *M. Cato*, the Father of *Cato Uticensis*, married *Li-
via*, who, by a former Marriage with *Q. Servilius Cæpio*,
had a Son and Daughter, *Cæpio*, and the famous *Servilia*.
She bore to her second Husband *Cato*, *M. Cato* and
Porcia. The *Cæpio* who conspired against *Augustus*, and
of whom *Velleius* (a) says nothing more, than that he
was a bad Man, fit for any Wickedness, may have been
Cato's Nephew, by his Half-Brother, or his Grand-Ne-
phew: For the *Coepio* who was *Cato's* beloved Brother,
died abroad, and he went for his Ashes.

(a) Lib. II. c. 91.

⁷ He was of the noble Family of the *Terentii*, and
adopted into the *Licinii*, whose Sur-name was *Muræna*.
I take him to have been the Son of that *Muræna*, who
was *Cato's* Friend, and fell out with him because of his
Strictness in looking after the *Cyprian* Business himself,
as if he had doubted his Friend's Honesty.

were soon discovered to *Mecenas*, by one *Castri-
cius* *. *Mecenas*, who was too fond of his Wife,
Terentia, Sister to *Muræna*, could not keep the
Secret from her, and, upon the Intimation she
gave her Brother, the Criminals fled. — *Tibe-
rius* was selected to plead against them *. They
were prosecuted for Contumacy, found guilty
of Treason, and condemned: Even *Proculeius*,
Brother to *Muræna*, though in the highest Favor
with *Augustus*, and renowned for his Love of his
Brothers, could not, with all his Credit, obtain
Pardon for this, in an Affair where the Safety of
the Prince was concerned.

The *Roman* Laws had hitherto punished the
greatest Crimes (Parricide excepted) only with
Banishment: But the Emperor's military Power
now prevented the guilty from escaping. They
were discovered in their Places of Retreat, and
put to Death.

Muræna was a Man of great Worth, learned,
and a Favourer of learned Men. *Athenæus* of *Se-
leucia* in *Cilicia*, the great Peripatetic, was so
much his Friend, that, when the Design against
Cæsar was discovered, the Philosopher, barely
upon Account of their Intimacy, was forced to
fly with him. He was caught, however, and
brought back to *Rome*, where, being examined,
and found innocent, he was set at Liberty. —
When he appeared in public, his Friends asked,

* *Suet.* in *Aug.* §. 66.

* *Suet.* in *Tib.* §. 8.

where he had been, and from whence he came?
To which he answered out of *Euripides*,

*I come, 'scaped from the Regions of the Dead
And gloomy Gates of Night* ¹.

Before he came to *Rome*, his Eloquence and Parts had drawn him into the Management of Affairs at Home, where he governed the People for some Time: But after *Muræna's* Death, he lived not long to enjoy his Liberty, being killed by the Fall of a House where he lodged, which tumbled down in the Night.

Cæpio's Father did, on this Occasion, a remarkable Act of Justice, which afforded *Augustus* an Opportunity of showing all his Moderation. Of two Slaves belonging to the Criminal, one had defended his Master against the Soldiers who came to seize him; the other had betrayed him. The Father rewarded the faithful Slave, by setting him at Liberty; but had the other led through the Streets, with a Label expressing his Crime, and then crucified. *Augustus* showed no Dissatisfaction at this Proceeding: He excused the Father's Love, and did not think the Son's Crime ought to stifle in him the Sentiments of Nature, or hinder him from showing them.

Some of the Judges were for acquitting young *Cæpio* and *Muræna*, because they could not pass Sentence on them personally: For it seems the *Romans* had no fixed Method of proceeding

¹ Ἦκω νεκρῶν κενθμῶνα ἢ σκίτα Γύλας λιπών.

Στραβ. γεωγρ. β. XII.

against such as fled, to avoid Judgment; and that even the Absence of the Accused was thought a favorable Circumstance. We are not told that *Augustus* was displeased at their Delicacy: But he took this Opportunity to enact, that, in similar Cases, where the Offender secreted himself from Justice, all the Judges should give their Opinions verbally, and not by Ballot: and that, if they were unanimous, the absent Person should stand condemned. He had plainly an Eye to himself in making this Law, which, however, was not the less just and good.

It would not be so easy to justify the Step he took in Favor of *Castricius*, who had discovered the Conspiracy. This Man being afterwards accused, *Augustus* appeared in Court for him; and, by his Entreaties, in Presence of the Judges, prevailed on the Accuser to drop the Prosecution².

Augustus did not dare openly to overturn the Constitution, because that would have made him pass for a Tyrant; but he artfully undermined it, and his Successors completed the iniquitous Work. — Under the sham Title of *Tribunician Power*, they usurped arbitrary Sway; and under the Pretence of *correcting* the Laws, mitigating their Rigor, or explaining their Meaning, they wrested them as they pleased. — The *Responsa Principum*, or *Decisions of the Prince*, came to be a Part of the Law itself. It is so still in the chief Kingdoms of *Europe*, excepting *Great Britain*, where, since the *Claim of Right* was allowed and

² *Suet. Aug. §. 56.*

settled in MDCLXXXIX. the Law has a *freer* Course, and the Court intermeddles with the Administration of Justice less than in any other Nation on Earth. — For through the Factions in *Poland*, and a corrupt *French* Cabal in *Sweden*, *Liberty*, the Chief of the Gifts of Heaven, is perverted, and, like the Corruption of the best Things, become their greatest Curse.

In *Rome*, the ancient Laws, the Bulwarks of Liberty and Property, were to remain in Force: But their *Edge*, was to be turned another Way. Public Liberty, and the high Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, were to be tenderly touched, and mentioned as rarely as possible. — But the Force of the Law was to exert itself in the Determination of private Property, Wills, Conveyances, Bonds, Inheritances, &c. — Hence arose a Species of Lawyers, very different from the great Republicans. Their Talent was not Knowledge, but *Cunning*, their Strength lay in *Quirks* and *Subtilties*: in striving to *out-wit* their Contemporaries in *Forms*, in carrying a Cause in Spite of *Justice*, by Dint of *Chicane*. — *Augustus's* pretending to keep within the Laws gave him a great Deal of Trouble. It was this that hindered him from taking the Pontificate from *Lepidus*, and forced him to dissemble with the People when he wanted any extraordinary Honor for himself, his Friends, or his Children, in which last he could least contain himself.

³ *Plut.* in *Anton.*

At Bottom, it was Want of Courage that made him keep his Power, and shrink from a Restoration of the Republic. He certainly longed for Ease and Retirement, and, with conscious Shame, remembered *Antony's* pressing Instances. But his Heart failed him. — *Antony* could have done it. — This Fear, together with the Dread of Conspiracies against his Life, while every Youth of noble Birth might attempt to deliver his Country, produced his intense Efforts to make the *Romans* happy. But still the Prime of the Nobility were the Objects of his Terror or Dislike. In the Midst of all his new Grandeur, when he had reached the Summit, and was sole *Lord* of the Empire, he found that, for that very Reason, he was become the Object of Hatred, and sat the looser on the Throne.

Rome being quite at Peace, *Augustus* resolved to visit the Eastern Parts of the Empire; doubtless, in Order to have an Opportunity of exercising there the supreme Power with which he had been invested; and justly concluding that the Presence of the Prince would greatly contribute to settle Things on a solid Foundation. But he had hardly reached *Sicily*, when News was brought him that violent Disputes were arising in the Capitol, on Account of the Election of Consuls for the ensuing Year. — The People could not make a proper Use of this small, and almost only, Remainder of their former Power. They insisted that *Augustus* should be one of their Consuls, and *M. Lollius* the other: And when the Emperor

signified to them his Intention not to accept the Consulate, *Q. Emilius Lepidus* and *L. Silanus* contended for the vacant Place with such Animosity, that it was generally thought *Augustus* would be obliged to return to *Rome*, to silence their seditious Cabals. But he chose rather to send for the two rival Candidates, and, after reprimanding them severely, forbade them to be present in the *Campus Martius* at the Time of the Election. Their Feuds however continued, and, after a long Contest, *Lepidus* was appointed.

This Event made *Augustus* sensible of the Necessity of having a Man of Weight and Judgment to keep *Rome* in Order during his Absence. He therefore recalled *Agrippa*, to whom he owed almost all his Grandeur; and effectually to remove his late Discontent, resolved to marry him to his Daughter, the Widow of *Marcellus*. The wise *Mecenas* being consulted on this Occasion, frankly and judiciously answered *Augustus*, *You have raised Agrippa so high, that you must of Necessity either kill him, or make him your Son-in-Law*¹. *Octavia* herself, according to *Plutarch*, likewise influenced *Augustus* in this Determination, though her Daughter *Marcella* was then married to *Agrippa*: — But she nobly gave up her own Interest for the Welfare of her Country, *Agrippa* was accordingly sent for; and having waited on the Emperor to receive his Orders, made the best of his Way to *Rome*, where, after divorcing *Marcella*, who married *Julius Antony*, he contracted with

¹ *Plut. in Anton.*

Julia, then in her eighteenth Year; a Marriage as dishonorable as it was brilliant, — as unhappy as it was fruitful *. — I know not any modern Character so like *Julia's*, as the unhappy *Henrietta*, Duchess of *Orleans*. — Her Wit, her Sweetness of Temper, her Love of Pleasure, and her miserable End, were very similar; — though she did not carry her Debaucheries to so great a Height.

Reasons of State were undoubtedly very cogent in Favor of this Alliance with *Agrippa*, whose Rank and Dignity made every one respect him, while his superior Talents added new Lustre to his Greatness. All was quiet under his equally firm and mild Administration, and *Rome* hardly perceived the Absence of *Augustus*. — These *Reasons* are deemed an unfathomable Abyss in the modern Practice of Monarchs, and their Ministers. An Air of Mystery is thrown over them. — But they are not, in themselves, so important or impenetrable, as is commonly pretended. The only real, good, and laudable Reason of State is that by which a Country is kept in Peace and Plenty; and the Means of effecting this are very plain. The excellent *Fenelon* has pointed them out clearly in his inimitable *Telemachus*. — It is only the Cowardice, Duplicity, Treachery, and unaccountable Passions, of absolute Governors that make them otherwise. — When the Happiness of a Country comes to depend upon

* *Juliam duxit Uxorem, feminam neque sibi, neque Reipublicæ felicitis uteri.* *Vell. II. 93.*

the private Passions of particular Men: — when the Whim of a Prince', or the lawless Appetite of a Favorite', can involve it in War, or entail upon it infinite Confusion; then, and only then, that *Reason of State* becomes intricate and perplexed. — Passions are fickle, unequal, and incertain; their Mazes and Doublings are endless:

' The late King of *France* sacrificed a Million of his Subjects to his *Glory*. — Had he erected a Temple, and dedicated a magnificent Image in it, under the Title of *The Glory of the great Lewis*, and sacrificed but one Man upon an Altar, to his adored Goddess; how small would the Harm have been, in Comparison of what he did, and how great the Clamor throughout all *Europe*! — But as he sacrificed ten thousand to this execrable Whim every Year, he is dubbed a Hero, fed with Flattery, and immortalized as far as venal Poets and Panegyrist's could embalm his Story.

Augustus was just an ordinary Man. — His Designs and Enterprises (after the Sallies of his Youth were cooled) showed it. — They were all of the middling Stamp. — A great Soul conceives great Designs, and a vast Mind comprehends extensive Views. — The correcting the erring Year, — the new-modelling and ornamenting the Mistress of the Western World, already the Care of so many Heroes, — the Conquest of *Parthia*, the only dreadful remaining Rival, were Thoughts worthy of *Cæsar's* Genius. — But *Augustus* was for bounding the Empire, settling *Forms* of Government at home, and reducing Matters to the Level of his own very moderate Capacity: — So that if it be true, that there never was a Hero without *Eminency* in something, I believe *Augustus* has small Pretension.

' *Villers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, plunged *England* into a War with *France*, because he was hindered from a private Interview with the *French* Queen.

And it is a melancholy Circumstance that a Powerful Neighbour, under their lawless Influences, may quickly entangle a free Nation in the Miseries occasioned by its wicked or foolish Rulers. The only Cure therefore for the Ills that attend them, is a preventive One; viz. To find some Governor, who has no Passion, but Love of the public Weal. — Not a giddy Democracy, nor an oppressive Aristocracy; but *such* a Body of Men as cannot be infected with the Passion of any one Particular and whose Majority will, generally, judge for themselves

The Sweets of Peace, to use *Velleius's* Expression⁷, accompanied *Augustus* in his Progress through *Italy* and *Greece*. *Syracuse*, and some other Towns in *Sicily*, were gifted with the Privileges of *Roman Colonies*. The Island *Cythærea* was added to the Territories of the brave *Lacedemonians*, to make them Amends for their former Hospitality towards *Livia*, when a Fugitive there in the dreadful Time of the *Perugian War*: — And the sycophant *Athenians* were punished with the Loss of *Egina* and *Eretria*, for their servile Flattery of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

At *Corinth*, he received the Embassies from the *Grecian Cities*. — One of these Ambassadors afforded him and his Train some Diversion. He came from the little Island *Gyarus*, one of the *Cyclades*, was a Fisher by Trade, and humbly begged an

⁷ Circumferens terrarum Orbi præsentia suâ pacis suæ bona.

Vell. Lib. II. c. 92.

Alleviation of their Taxes; setting forth, that their State paid yearly into the *Roman Treasury* the Sum of 4l. 16sh. 10d. 1/2, which was too grievous a Burden for them to bear; wherefore they prayed that they might be eased at least in a Third of the Sum, and their annual Tribute be reduced to 3l. 4sh. 7d. — *Strabo*, who tells this Story^a, was then travelling through the Islands of the *Archipelago*, and, at his Departure from *Gyarus*, charitably took this Embassy into his Ship, and gave it free Passage to Court. — This Island had only a poor little Village upon it, inhabited by Fishermen, and was the Place to which the Emperors afterwards banished great Offenders^b. *Seriphus*, another little Island in the Neighbourhood, was used for the same Purpose. — But these now contemptible Spots, in the better Days of *Greece*, when *Xerxes*, with an enormous Army, and a proportionate naval Force, threatened to enslave that Country, were able, through the Means of all-powerful Liberty, to fit out a Ship to join the *Grecian Fleet* in Defence of the Common Cause^c.

Augustus spent the Winter of the Year DCCXXXI. in the Island of *Samos*, where he received Ambassadors from *Candaces*, Queen of *Ethiopia*. *Elius Gallus's Expedition* against *Arabia*, one of the

^a *Geogr. Lib. X.*

^b *Aude aliquid brevis Gyaris vel Carcere dignum.*

Juvenal.

^c *Herodot. Polymn.*

most unfortunate that the *Romans* ever undertook, alarmed the *Ethiopians*; who, taking Advantage of the unprovided State in which he had left the *Upper Egypt* and *Thebais*, forced *Syæna*, *Elephantinum*, and *Philes*, plundered the whole Country, and demolished the Emperor's Statues. *Petronius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, with ten thousand Men raised in Haste, marched against thirty thousand of these new Enemies, who ran away upon the first Tidings of his Approach. — These were even worse Soldiers, and worse armed, than the *Arabians*; who, Vagabonds then, as they now are, and treacherous in those Days, as they are in these, used only the Bow, Sword, Lance, Sling, and Hatchet, in their Wars, and lost ten thousand Men in one Battle, in which they killed but two *Romans*². — The *Ethiopians*, only a few of whom had Swords, and the Rest either Hatchets, or long Poles, probably headed with Iron, and vast unwieldy Bucklers made of raw Hides, rallied, however, and ventured a Battle, the Decision of which could not long be doubtful. Their Conqueror, *Petronius*, marching on, took and plundered the royal City of *Napata*. — He was then nine hundred Miles distant from *Syæna*, and was told, that if he attempted to penetrate farther into the Country, he would meet with nothing but sandy Deserts: Upon which he resolved to return, after leaving a Garrison of four hundred Men, and Provisions for two Years, in *Premnis*, a Town situated on the *Nile*, below the great Cataract.

² *Strabo*, Lib. XIV. & *Dio*.

Candaces, who had lost one Eye, but had Courage enough to keep great Part of *Ethiopia* subject to her Laws, levied fresh Forces, and attempted to re-take *Premnis*. *Petronius* prevented her: Till at last, finding that the *Romans* could not possibly get any Good by this War, he entered into a Negociation with the Queen, who, seeing what Enemies she had to deal with, renewed her Solicitations for Peace. When *Candaces* was told that she must send Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, she asked, who *Cæsar* was, and where he lived? Guides were given to conduct the *Ethiopian* Representatives, who were favorably received. *Augustus* readily granted them Peace, and even exempted their Nation from the Tribute which *Petronius* had imposed.

In the Spring of the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXXII. *Augustus* visited *Asia*, properly so called, and *Bithynia*; dispensing, wherever he went, Rewards to some, and Punishments to others, in Virtue of his Proconsular Authority. The Inhabitants of *Tralles*, of *Cappadocia* in *Phrygia*, of *Thyatira*, and of *Chios*, who had suffered greatly by dreadful Earthquakes, experienced his Liberality. But he took from the People of *Cyzicus* the Right of being governed by their own Laws and Magistrates, and subjected them to a Prefect of his nominating; because, in a popular Tumult, they had used some *Roman* Citizens extremely ill, whipping them with Rods, and even putting some of them to Death. In *Syria*, he practised the like Severity on the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, whose

Liberty had, of late, served only to breed Riots and Seditions.

His Journey into *Syria* alarmed *Phraates*, who, apprehending a War when he saw the Emperor so near his Territories, hastened to fulfil the Conditions of the Treaty lately concluded with *Augustus*, which, till then, he seemed to have entirely forgot. He therefore sent back the *Roman* Prisoners and Standards; the opprobrious Remains of the Defeat of *Crassus*, and the Flight of *Antony*. *Tiberius* was charged with the honorable Commission of receiving them from the Ambassadors of the *Parthian* King¹. *Augustus*, ever after, justly looked upon it as one of the most glorious Events of his Life, thus to have made the haughty *Parthians*, the only Rivals of *Rome*, submit, and, by the sole Terror of his Name, acknowledge themselves, if not subject, at least inferior to her Grandeur. He, with Reason, prided himself on having effaced the last Marks of those disgraceful Stains, which had sullied the Glory of the *Roman* Name for almost forty Years. This Honor had been ardently coveted by the Dictator *Cæsar*, and by *Antony*. What Death prevented *Cæsar*'s executing by Force of Arms, and what *Antony* attempted so wretchedly, that he only increased the Shame, *Augustus* accomplished without drawing a Sword.

The sincerest Demonstrations of public Joy and Admiration distinguished this pleasing Exploit. Thanksgivings were returned to the Gods; an

¹ *Suet. Tib. § IX.*

Ovation was decreed to *Augustus*; a triumphal Arch was erected to his Honor; and Medals were struck to perpetuate the Memory of so glorious an Event. *Augustus* ordered the Standards recovered from the *Parthians* to be deposited in the Temple of *Mars the Avenger*, built by him as a Monument of his Victory at *Philippi*: And, on this Occasion, being a public Satisfaction in which the whole Nation was interested, he ratified and confirmed the Epithet of *Avenger**, which he had before given to that God, in Memory of the Revenge he had taken on the Murderers of *Cæsar*. — No Wonder that the great Poets of the *Augustan* Age vied with each other in celebrating the Object of a Glory so dear to their Prince. It is the express Subject of one of *Horace's* most pompous Odes[†]; and in many other Parts of his Works he has missed no Opportunity, no more than *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and *Propertius*, to record the Remembrance of this famed Transaction.

Phraates took another Step, still more submissive than the Restitution of the *Roman* Prisoners and Standards. He sent to *Augustus*, as Hostages of his future Amity, his four Sons, with their Wives and Children. — But his real Design in so doing was to provide for his own Safety, much more than to show any Deference or Submission to the *Roman* Power. Hated and detested by his

* Rite Deo templumque datum, nomenque, his ulto.

Ovid. Fast. Lib. V. v. 595.

† *Lib. III. Od. 5.*

Subjects, and conscious of having deserved it by his many Cruelties, he looked upon his Children as his Rivals, and constantly dreaded lest the *Parthians* should set one of them upon the Throne: Whereas, by removing them to a Distance, he no longer feared any Revolution; — well knowing how much all the People were attached to the Blood of the *Arfacidæ*. The young Princes were treated royally at *Rome*; and, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, one of them asserted his Right to the Crown of his Forefathers.

Notwithstanding this tacit Submission of the *Parthian* King, the Affairs of that Empire were in as flourishing a Condition as a Tract of Cruelties exercised in a tyrannical Reign, would permit. — But these Cruelties were committed upon Viziers, Bachas, and kindred Lords, or Princes of the Blood, as at this Day in the Courts of the East, while the Body of the People, that is, the Strength of the Nation, remained unhurt: — For one civil Broil, disputed with Blood and Burnings, weakens a Country more than the cutting off fifty towering Heads. The *Parthian* Nation therefore was strong, and their Army in good Order; though the thin-sown Nobility were indisposed to their merciless Monarch.

The Kings of *Parthia*, like their *Persian* Predecessors, commonly shifted their royal Residence, according to the Seasons of the Year. *Cyrus*, and his Successors, used to spend the Winter at *Babylon*, the Spring at *Susa*, the Autumn at *Persepolis*, and the Heats of Summer in *Media*,

at *Ecbatan* *. — The *Parthian* Princes, of a Northern hardy Race, drew still nearer to the Mountains, and passed the Summer in their old Capital, called *Hecatompylæ*, (from its hundred Gates), which was only 133 Miles from the famed *Caspian* Pass, which separated them from their *Sacas-san* (*Sac-son*) Progenitors, a Tribe of whom, we find, had formerly passed the *Kûr*, and settled between that River and the *Araxes*, under the express Name of *Sacassans* †, or, taking out the middle Vowel, (which the *Greeks* would naturally insert,) *Sac-Sons*. — But the *Macedonian* Conquest had made vast Changes upon the Face of the East. — *Persepolis*, the rich Capital, was destroyed by *Alexander*, shall I say, or a little Harlot, who proposed that Frolic when he was half-drunk.

Armenia, a Kingdom of vast Extent and Power, and likewise independent on the *Romans*, received a King from the Hand of *Augustus*, after Peace was settled between him and *Phraates*. — *Artaxias*, Son of *Artabazes*, whom *Antony* dethroned, and put to Death, had succeeded his Father, and, being an implacable Enemy to the *Romans*, had been maintained on the Throne by the Help of

* *The Middle*, or Centre, as this Town was supposed to be, of the ancient *Media*.

† *Pluritiem omnem à Cyro (the Kûr) usque, Albanorum gens tenet: mox Iberum, discreta ab iis amne Alazone, in Cyrum, è Caucasii Montibus defluente. — Moschorum tractus, ad Iberum amnem in Cyrum fluentem; & infra eos Sacassani: — Lying between the Araxes and the Kûr.*

Plin. Lib. VI. c. 10.

the *Parthian* Power. That Support being taken from him by *Phraates's* Reconciliation to *Augustus*, Factions and Seditions arose against him, and several of the *Armenian* Nobility declared his Brother *Tigranes* King. *Tigranes* was then at *Rome*, whither he had been carried from *Alexandria*, where he was made Prisoner upon the Death of *Antony*. *Augustus* might easily have taken Advantage of these Diffensions, to seize upon *Armenia*: — But he was a Stranger to the Rage of Conquest, and desired nothing farther than to give them a King, who would be a Friend to *Rome*. However, as there was Reason to think that Force of Arms would be requisite to succeed in this, *Tiberius* was charged with the Expedition. — But Things took another Turn, and there was no Occasion for War. *Artaxias* being killed by his Relations, *Tiberius* had only to put *Tigranes* in Possession of the vacant Throne. — The *Armenian* Prince did not long enjoy this splendid Gift of Fortune.

Though the establishing of *Tigranes* upon the Throne of *Armenia* had been effected without War, yet Occasion was taken, from thence to decree solemn Thanksgivings to the Gods for *Tiberius's* Success. This first military Honor roused the Courage of *Augustus's* young Son-in-Law, whose Expectations had before been raised to a great Height, by a pretended Prodigy, which *Suetonius* and *Dion* are very careful to record *.

* *Suet. Tib. § XIV. Dio. Lib. LIV.*

They say, that whilst he was crossing the Plains of *Philippi*, the Fire kindled of itself on an Altar formerly consecrated there by the victorious Legions. — But his Mother's Ambition, and her Influence over *Augustus*, were a much surer Omen. — She then obtained for her Son the Command of *Syria*, and of all the Provinces of the *East*, which *Augustus* left under his Orders when he quitted *Samos*.

To the great Mortification of *Livia* and *Tiberius*, *Julia*, now married to *Agrippa*, was this Year¹ delivered of a Son, who was named *Caius*. This Birth was celebrated by public Rejoicings, and a Festival established to Perpetuity¹.

Augustus passed a second Winter at *Samos*; and that the Inhabitants of that Island might feel the good Effects of his Stay among them, he granted them the Liberty and Use of their own Laws. The whole World now paid Homage to his Greatness: Even the most barbarous Nations, the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, courted his Friendship; but nothing of this Kind was so remarkable as an Embassy which he received there from *Paudion* and *Porus*, Kings of *India*². The Design of it was to conclude a Treaty of Alliance began some Years before by other Ambassadors, who met *Augustus* in *Spain* at *Tarragona*. Only three of these Ambassadors reached *Samos*; several of their

¹ DCCXXXII.

¹ *Dio.*

² *Strabo*, Lib. XV. *Flor.* IV. 12. *Oros.* VI. 21. *Dio.*

Companions having died on the Road, during a Journey which, they said, had taken them up near four Years. They delivered to *Augustus* a Letter written in *Greek*, by *Porus*, who, in the pompous Style of the Orientals, boasted his Command over six hundred Kings; but yet expressed the highest Value for *Augustus's* Friendship; offering him a Passage through his Dominions, and promising to assist him in all Things licit and reasonable.

They had Presents to offer, which were carried, or conducted, into the Emperor's Presence by eight Slaves, naked from the Waist upwards, and perfumed with Spices. These Presents consisted in Pearls, Jewels, Elephants, and several extraordinary Curiosities, among which was a Man without Arms, who could draw a Bow and shoot the Arrow, sound a Trumpet, and do, with his Feet, almost every Thing that others can with the Help of their Hands. There were Tigers, an Animal which the *Romans* had never seen, nor, as *Dion Cassius* thinks, the *Greeks*: Vipers of a prodigious Size; a Serpent twelve Cubits long; a River-Turtle three Cubits in Length, and a Partridge bigger than a Vulture.

With the *Indian* Ambassadors came a Philosopher of the same Nation, who renewed, in *Augustus's* Presence, the same frantic Scene as *Calanus* had formerly exhibited before *Alexander*. — He accompanied the Emperor to *Athens*, and there, after obtaining Leave to be initiated in the Mysteries of *Ceres*, declared, that having till then en-

joyed a constant Series of Prosperity, he would no longer be exposed to the Vicissitudes of human Affairs, or the Caprices of Fortune, but would prevent them by a voluntary Death. He therefore caused a Pile to be erected, rubbed his Body with Oil, and, when the Flames were at their Height, leaped into the Fire, with a smiling Countenance, and was consumed. An Epitaph to this Purport was put upon his Tomb: *Here lies Zarmanochegas, an Indian of Bargosa³, who, according to the ancient Custom of his Country, killed Himself.*

Whilst *Augustus* was absent from *Rome*, the Senate named him Superintendant of the Highways in *Italy*. He accepted the Office, and appointed for his Deputies two ancient Pretors, who, under his Authority, made the famous Golden *Miliary*, a gilded Pillar, which was placed in the Forum⁴, as the Point from whence all the principal Roads in *Italy* were to be measured. From this the *Romans* counted their Miles, at the End of every one of which a Stone was set up, marked with the Distance from the Capital.

As soon as *Agrippa* had settled the most urgent Affairs of the City, he went to *Gaul*, where some Commotions had arisen, and from thence to *Spain*, to finish the Reduction of the *Cantabrians*.

³ If this *Bargosa* be the same with *Ptolomy's Baryaza*, as I am apt to suspect, we may place its Situation near the Gulph of *Cambaia*.

⁴ *Casal. Par. l. c. 11.*

Rome being by this Means without a Head able to keep the Multitude in Awe, fresh Disturbances broke out on Account of the Election of Consuls. The People obstinately persisted in their Whim of making *Augustus* Consul, and would chuse but one other, which was *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who therefore, alone, took Possession of the Consulate on the first of *January*.

Sentius was a Man of Courage and Resolution; worthy to have been a Member of the old Republic, in her uncorrupted Days. Maintaining the Dignity of his high Office with a becoming Spirit, he detected and punished the Frauds of those who had the Management of the public Finances, and brought back to the national Treasury large Sums which had been secreted from it. But, above all, he showed himself a great Magistrate in all Nominations to Employments. He rejected several unworthy Subjects who offered themselves for Questors, and threatened to make them feel the Weight of a Consul's Power, if they dared to appear as Candidates.

But all his Firmness and Intrepidity were necessary when the Election of his Colleague was to be proceeded in: For *Augustus* persisting in his Refusal, *Egnatius Rufus*, the rash Youth whose Insolence I mentioned before, declared himself a Candidate; and, puffed up with the Favor of the People, who had raised him at once from the Rank of Edile to that of Pretor, without

going through the intermediate Gradations, now pretended to carry the Consulship, contrary to the known Intentions of the Emperor, and to make it, when attained, a Means of disturbing the Tranquillity of the State. *Sentius* ordered him to withdraw; which *Egnatius* refusing to do, a downright Sedition ensued, and some Men were killed. The Senate would have given the Consul a Guard: But *Sentius*, full of Courage, thought himself sufficiently armed by the legal Authority, with which he was invested; and declared, that even if *Egnatius* should have a Majority of Votes, he would not declare him duly elected.

The Storm was, however, too violent to be quite appeased by *Sentius* alone. There was a Necessity of having Recourse to *Augustus*, who was then drawing towards *Rome*; and accordingly the Senate deputed to him two of its Members. The Emperor, on this Occasion, was not so reserved as he had been two Years before; for he now would not let the People name a Consul for the current Year, but, of his own Authority, appointed one of the Senate's two Deputies, *Q. Lucretius*, who had formerly been proscribed.

Whilst *Augustus* approached the City, the Senate was busied in consulting how to decree him all Sorts of Honors, in acknowledgment for the wise Regulations he had made in the Provinces of the Empire. However, he would accept but one of those Honors, which was an Altar consecrated to *Fortune returned* (*Fortunæ reduci*), and an anniversary Festival on the Day of his Return.

It was intended to meet him, without the Gates, and all the Classes of the People were already in Motion, when, chusing rather to save the Citizens that Trouble and Fatigue, than to enjoy the Pomp of the Ceremonial, he entered the City in the Night - Time *, as he always chose to do whenever public Entries were intended him.

Augustus, not conscious to himself of any superior Merit or Capacity, and yet finding that by one strange Chance after another, he rose not only above his Fellows, but outstripped by much his Betters, conceived a very sincere Devotion for the blind Goddess; and when he was Master of the Empire, it was observed, that he carefully repaired her decayed Temples, and omitted no Opportunity to do her Honor. — *Julian*, in his admirable Draught of the *Cæsars*, makes *Fortune* complain of every one of them, as doing her the highest Injustice in not giving her a Share of their great Actions, except *Octavius*, whom alone she allowed to have been thoroughly grateful to her Deity †. — Hence too *Horace's* courtly Odes to *Fortune*.

Augustus had the greatest Reason that perhaps any Prince ever had to do her Homage. At *Julius Cæsar's* Death, there was not the smallest Probability of his being ever able to rise in the

* *Suet.* Aug. § 53.

† Τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Καίσαρσι) ἡ Τίχη μέλεποιεῖτο τὸ πλεῖστον· καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν καταβοῶσα παρειαῖται, πλὴν Ὀκταβιανῶν μόνων· τοῦτον δὲ Εὐγνώμονα πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶναι ἔλεγεν.

Ἰηλιαν. Καίσαρ.

Roman State. His being related to a Man who was killed as a Tyrant, tended to depress and bear him down: And when that Face of Affairs was changed by the Combination of the Veterans, a stronger Obstacle was still in his Way to Power: That was the Dictators; old Captains, Men of high Courage, great Experience and Interest, and no less Ambition, with whom he could not compare in any one Respect, but the last. — In the first Place, therefore, to make Way for the young *Cæsar's* Grandeur, the Commonwealth must be again overturned. The old firm Columns of Liberty remaining after the Ravages of *Julius Cæsar*, *M. T. Cicero*, *C. Cotta*, and others, were to be pulled down, and the young Assertors of Freedom, full of a towering Spirit, and in the Height of Life, bred to Letters and Arms, must be likewise destroyed. *M. Brutus*, *C. Cassius*, *S. Pompey*, *Cn. Domitius*, the young *Luculli*, the *Hortensii*, the *Fabii*, the *Scipio's*, and the *Cato's*, with the whole Train of the noble Band of Senators who were concerned in the Death of *Cæsar*, and the Delivery of their Country. When that hard and wicked Task was accomplished, a harder still remained. The Chiefs of the *Cæsarean* Party were to be some how or other removed, before *Cæsar's* young Heir could succeed to his Power. This was the difficult Part of the Work, and the most powerful Obstacle that lay in his Way. To perform the first Parts, he had their Assistance; to perform this last, he must stand alone open in the Contest. The Op-

position from the other Party might be surmounted by Force, as it was; and he had all the *Cæsarean* Veterans to second him in pulling down the Bulwarks of Liberty. — But he could not openly attack *his Friends*; even if he had at first had Power or Conduct equal to the Enterprize — Let us but recollect what became of *Alexander's* Empire after his Death; how every one of his general Officers set up for himself, and drew a Part of the Army and Provinces after him. They erected their Shares into independent Principalities, without much Regard to his Brother *Aridæus*, or the Heir beginning to be apparent in *Roxana's* Belly. *Antigonus* seized upon the Lower *Asia*, *Seleucus* upon the Upper, *Ptolomy* upon *Egypt*, *Eumenes* on *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, *Lysimachus* upon *Thrace*, and first *Antipater*, and then *Cassandra*, upon *Macedonia*. — What would *C. Curio*, *C. V. Pansa*, *A. Hirtius*, and *P. Corn. Dolabella*, great Generals and noble Romans, have done had they lived? Would *C. Casca*, *P. Trebonius*, *Q. Cicero*, *D. Brutus*, *Q. Cornificius*, *Q. Ligarius*, old Captains, and devoted to Liberty, have tamely submitted to the Tyranny of a beardless Youth? It was not to be expected: Any one of them was enough to have crushed the ambitious Boy by the Weight of his Authority and Reputation. That strange Fate, therefore, which removed them all out of the Way by various Deaths, (most of them dispatching one another), which left him none but *Mark Antony* to struggle with at last, might be justly the Object of his

Wonder and Adoration. The triumphing over any *one* Rival who disputes the Sovereignty, is looked upon as a great Strain of Happiness: But to gain the Summit, when *so many* Superiors stood in his Way, is an Event so strange, that it is no Wonder a Man of a *middling* Genius should ascribe it to the particular Good-will of some propitious Power who conducted the Steps of Fate, and brought it to the improbable Issue. — I say a Man of a *middling* Genius, because a great one would not talk nor act so unmeaningly. To ascribe great Effects to a chimerical Cause, is Weakness of Understanding, or, its Sister, Superstition. Though the Links of it be too fine for mortal Eyes, there is an adamantine Chain, which holds Events together, and regulates the Rise and Fall of Nations, as well as of private Men. But when People must say something, and, through Weakness or Sloth, care not to give themselves the Trouble of Inquiry, a Word of no Signification is of wondrous Service. The Genius, Rank, and Circumstances in which every Man is born, but above all his *Conduct*, determines his Fortune, which is the Creature of the former, even to a Proverb^{*}. But we make a Mistress of the Slave, and talk so much of *Fortune*, of good

^{*} Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ.

⁹ In totâ ratione mortalium, *Fortuna* utramque paginam facit: Adeoque obnoxii sumus *Sorti*, ut *Sors* ipsa pro *Deo* sit; quâ *Deus* probatur incertus.

Plin. Lib. II. c. 7.

and bad *Luck*, or of the *Times*, as of a Power that governs us and our Affairs, that we come to believe there is something in it. — It was an admirable Question put by the great *Hannibal* to a mean Prince, who hesitated about striking a grand Blow because the *Extæ* or Entrails of the Sacrifice portended no good; “Will your Majesty, said he, give more Credit to a Calf’s Liver than to an old experienced General?”

In the Morning after his Arrival, *Augustus* went to the Senate, and desired for *Tiberius*, whom he had left in *Syria*, the *Ornaments* of Pretor, (for the *Romans* began to be used to distinguish between the Privileges and Decorations of Offices, and the Offices themselves); and for *Drusus*, Brother to *Tiberius*, the same Dispensation as had been granted to this last, enabling him to be a Magistrate five Years before the Age appointed by the Laws.

Hitherto *Augustus*, who had now totally overturned the Liberty of *Rome*, had been able only to trace the Outlines, as it were, of the Reformation he intended to make in the new-formed State. The Disorders occasioned by the Civil Wars had taken Root too deeply to be cured at once. — Too violent Remedies might have increased the Evil. He therefore resolved to resume the Work he had begun some Time before, and with this View caused himself to be continued for five Years longer Prefect, or Superintendant, of the Laws and Manners; with the Addition of the Consular Power for his Life, and all the Preroga-

tives annexed to that Dignity, together with the Precedence over the actual Consuls: So that, without being in Fact either Consul, or Censor, he enjoyed all the Privileges belonging to those great Offices.

To facilitate the Discharge of the important Functions in which *Augustus* was continued, the Senators expressed a Readiness *implicitly* to bind themselves before Hand, by Oath, to observe whatever Laws he should make: But he declined this farther Proof of their abject Servility; rightly judging, that, if those Laws suited them, they would be ready enough to put them in Practice; but that, if they should chance to displease, no Oath would prevent their shaking off the Yoke.

This important Work could not be completed without the Assistance of *Agrippa*, who, equally qualified for War or Peace, was then finishing the Reduction of the *Cantabrians*; a difficult Task, which he at last performed so effectually, that they submitted quietly to the *Roman Yoke*, and never more attempted to revolt.

This Exploit was great, and well deserved the most brilliant Rewards: — But *Agrippa*, like a complete Courtier, (though at the same Time the best of Generals), always careful to keep within the Bounds of a Lieutenant, who ought to ascribe every Thing to his Chief, sent an Account of his Success, not to the Senate, but to the Emperor, and would not accept the Triumph that was decreed him.

This Modesty was not imitated by every one who had the Command of an Army. Several asked, and obtained, the Honors of a Triumph, only for taking some paltry Town, or stopping the Inroads of a few Banditti: For *Augustus* was so liberal of military Rewards, that he granted triumphal Honors to above thirty of his Generals¹. It is however certain that *Agrippa*, in this Refusal, suited himself to the Prince's secret Intentions, which he was better acquainted with than any other Man.

It would not be just to confound *L. Balbus* with those who obtained triumphal Honors for trifling Exploits. He had conquered the *Garamanti*, a People of *Africa*, who had never before felt the *Roman Arms*. In this Procession, there appeared a long File of barbarous Names, People, Towns, and Mountains, unknown till then, but subdued by him. The Triumpher was not less remarkable: Born at *Cadiz*, and having been complimented with the Freedom of *Rome* by *Pompey*, he was the only Stranger of Distinction that had ever triumphed in *Rome*: — But his Uncle, who had been Consul, had paved the Way for him. *Accius Balbus*, *Julia's* Husband, and *Atia's* Father, was Pretor, and one of the *twenty* appointed to divide the *Campania*, in Consequence of the pernicious Law made by his Wife's Brother, *Julius Cæsar*. — It was for refusing to be one of these that *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, then Intimates, were thought to con-

¹ *Suet. Aug. XXXVIII.*

nive at, if not promote *Cicero's* Banishment: Though that was, at the Bottom, an infamous Bargain they made with *Clodius*, that he should have their Leave to destroy *Cicero*, if he would employ the Rest of his Tribuneship in their Service.

Two of the most abject Characters in *Augustus* Time were the Son and Grandson of Men who had made a great Figure in *Rome*. *Clodius Pulcher*, though an Enemy to good Men, had a high Spirit, and was in great Favor with the Commonalty. — His Wife *Fulvia* had yet a higher. It was said, she tucked the Sword above her Gown, which was the Mark of *Clodius's* military Command: — And yet the Child begot between these two proved a spiritless Dunce. He passed his Youth in a silly obscure Manner; lived the Cully of a common Strumpet, and made his Exit by choking upon a Dish of Cow's Duggs. — His Sister, when yet a Girl, was contracted to *Augustus*, about the Time of the Proscription, and sent home a Maid about the Beginning of the *Perusian War*². The other was *Hortensius Corbio*, Grandson to the eloquent and worthy *Q. Hortensius*, who was able to distinguish himself amidst a Set of the brightest Citizens that *Rome* had seen, and obtain the highest Honors of his Country. But *Corbio* lived a more shameful Life than the commonest Creature that plies at *Wapping*; and, at last, in the most infamous

² *Suet. Aug. § 62.*

Places, employed his Tongue so differently from his Grandfather, as forbids all Description³.

M. Hortensius, (perhaps Brother, or at least related to, the justly celebrated *Quintus Hortensius*), was a very remarkable Character. He had Genius, Capacity, Eloquence, Grace, Dignity, Shrewdness, and every Thing but Integrity. — By these Qualities, supported by many bad Arts and great Interest, he had got almost the sovereign Disposal of all Causes; and as he defended or accused, the Parties were acquitted or condemned. — *Verres*, speaking of him, had imprudently let drop, “That
“ he had a great and powerful Friend, in Confi-
“ dence of whose Protection, he pillaged the
“ Provinces; that he was not making Money solely
“ for himself; but had so laid the Accounts of a
“ three Years Government, that he should think
“ himself well off if he could make the Profits of
“ one Year his own, give another to his Council,
“ and reserve the last and greatest wholly for his
“ Judges.” — Monstrous Iniquity!

Hortensius lived up to his Fortune, in vast Splendor and studied Luxury: He was the first Man who killed a Peacock for Food; to which he sat down with an Assembly of the Clergy, at his inaugural Dinner⁴. His Friend, *M. Varro*, tells that, among the Rest of his Family-Provision, there was found in his Cellars, at his Death, more than ten thousand Pipes of Wine⁵.

³ *Val. Max. Lib. III. c. 5. § 3.*

⁴ *Plin. Lib. X.*

⁵ *Hortensius super decem millia Cadum (Chii Vini) hæredi reliquit.*

Varro, ap. Plin. Lib. XIV. § 14.

His Memory is deservedly stained by a Complication of Fraud and Avarice. Some shrewd *Grecians*, or perhaps Farmers of the Revenue in *Greece*, perfectly acquainted with the Characters, Inclinations, and Power, of the two great Men then in *Rome*, or rather in Courts and Causes, had forged a Will for a very rich Man, *L. Minucius Basilus* (whose Son or Nephew was killed by his own Servants), in which they had devised the better Part of the Estate to themselves, but had made *M. Crassus* and *M. Hortensius* their Co-heirs for very considerable Shares of it. The Fraud was glaring and palpable; and yet these two Princes in the State could stoop to so infamous an Acquisition. — The public Morals must have been totally ruined then, and all Sense of Honor lost; or the *Roman* People would have stoned them the first Time they dared to appear in Court.

The DCCXXXIII. Year of *Rome* was fatal to Poetry and Learning, by the Death of that accomplished Scholar, *Virgil*, who was snatched away, before he could put the finishing Hand to his *Eneid*. He had retired into *Greece*, hoping there to enjoy the Tranquillity necessary to polish that Poem, and finish it to his own Satisfaction. *Augustus* going to *Athens* at that Time, the Poet waited on him, and probably was prevailed on by the Emperor to return to *Italy* with him. He was ill when he embarked, and the Voyage increasing his Disorder, he died almost immediately after his Arrival at *Brundisium*, in the 51st Year of his Age.

His Epitaph ⁶, written by himself, if we may credit the Author of his Life, contains in two Lines his Birth, Death, Burial, and an Indication of his Works. “*Mantua bore me ; Brundisium*”
 “*saw me die ; my Ashes rest at Naples. I sung*”
 “*of Shepherds , Fields , and Heroes.*”

It has been asserted ⁷, that, when dying, he would have burnt his *Eneid*, and that he even ordered it to be done, by his Will. He had so high an Idea of Perfection, that a Poem, which has always been admired, did not seem to him worthy to be transmitted to Posterity. *Augustus*, notwithstanding the Respect due to the last Desires of a Testator, prevented the Execution of that rigorous Order, and directed *Varius* and *Tucca*, both great Poets, and *Virgil's* Friends, to revise the *Eneid*, with Leave to strike out what they thought proper, but not to add.

Virgil appointed *Augustus* and *Mecenas*, with a Half-Brother he had, to be his Heirs. To name the Prince in his Will, was a sure Way to please him ; for *Augustus* always took this last Proof of Affection kindly from such as he had treated on the Footing of Friends. This Custom grew more in Use under the succeeding Emperors, and became a Part of the universally reigning Adulation.

⁶ *Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
 Parthenope. Cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

⁷ *Plin. Lib. VII. c. 30. A. Gell. Lib. XVII. c. 10.
 Macrob. Sat. II. 4.*

Though *Virgil* accumulated more Wealth than *Horace*, yet he was equally fond of Retirement. A Life of philosophical Contemplation, to view the august *Drama* of Nature, and investigate the Springs that move it, was his supreme Wish: Poetry, and the Gifts of the Muses, were his second Desire; and the Sweets of rural Delights, amidst Streams and Woods, his third and last Enjoyment. The Character he has drawn of a perfectly happy Man in the old *Corcyrean*, who lived on the Fruits and Sallads of his own Cultivation, shows his Turn and Taste to have been much the same with that of our excellent *Cowley**, who, could he have checked his overflowing Wit, and have written under the Eye of such Men as *Virgil's* Friends, would not have been far behind him in his Writings. — Yet could not his retired innocent Life, or his Mildness and friendly Manner, screen him from Envy and Detraction. *Mevius* was not the only Malignant. *L. Cornificius*, a Man of as perverse a Nature, as his Cousin (I judge) had a sweet one, could not endure *Virgil*†. — He produced some loose gallant Pieces, which *Ovid* quotes among other Patterns of his own immodest Compositions. — *Augustus's* Freed,

* If e'er Ambition did my Fancy cheat, &c.

† *Cornificius*, ob perversam naturam, illum non tulit.
Donat.

Et leve *Cornificê*, parque *Catonis* opus.

Ovid.

man *Hyginus*, a Person of more Learning than Genius, nibbled at *Virgil's* Poetry, not in a manly comprehensive Criticism, but attacking partly the Impropriety of certain Terms used by the Poet¹, and partly the little Slips or Inaccuracies, in talking of modern Names of Places and Persons as ancient, which a warm Fancy readily commits in the Heat of Composition.

Ennius and *Accius* seem to have been the two *Roman* Poets of the most *original* Genius; though even they copied much from the *Greeks*; — but they likewise composed many Pieces, *really* their own. All the Rest are Imitators of their *Grecian* Masters. — I think we have had but two genuine Originals in *Britain*, *Spenser*, and — let me not mistake, — *Milton*. — A true Poet is a *Maker*, as his Name imports; a Creator of a fictitious World, resembling some Part of the real One. It is this original Creation which distinguishes him from all Followers, Imitators, Copyists, Paraphrasts, Improvers, Designers after another Man's Model. — *Spenser's* Claim is unquestionable: — His *Fairy Queen*, abstracted from the Allegory, (the prevailing Taste of the Age), is perhaps the Poem of the most original Invention that ever was produced; — the mere Creature of his teeming Brain; — and yet one of the most beautifully diversified Tales that ever flowed from a rapturous Muse. — It must be acknowledged that *Milton* has frequently borrowed from *Homer* and the *Italian*

¹ *A. Gell. Lib. VI. c. 6.*

Poets, and especially from our sacred Scriptures : — But he has borrowed only particular Thoughts, or Ornaments; while the general *Plan*, the high-wrought *Characters*, and the whole Run of the *Imagery*, are all his own; — besides some *original Fables* interwoven, which are the Characteristics of a Poet. — With grateful Admiration, I acknowledge Mr. *William Shakspeare* to have outdone both these mighty Bards in single happy *Flights*, and high-coloring of particular *Passions* and *Descriptions*. — But all his *Plans*, and the greater Part of his *Characters*, (save those he copied from *Low-Life*), are *borrowed*; and with all his happy Imagination and Power of Language, he is still *infelix operis summâ — quia ponere totum nescit*. — All the After-Poets, though many of them have been Men of infinite Wit and Pleasantry, and their Works are full of Entertainment, either do not attempt to be Originals, or evidently copy from a known Original.

I know no Poem, in any Language, that comes so near the Beauty, the Simplicity, the Innocence of *Theocritus*, as the divine *Spenser's Shepherd's Kalendar*. Nature, pure Nature, stands there unveiled. — *Chaucer* and *Douglass* spake our antiquated Dialect, in its original Roughness. But when softened by *Spenser's* Ear, and brightened by *his* Fancy, it became capable of fully rendering the Graces of the Old *Doric*; upon which *Virgil* and *Tasso* durst scarcely touch, in a faint and transient Imitation. I name not other Moderns, because their Nymphs and Swains smell strongly

of the *Louvre*, or *St James*. But whoever would see the Passion between the Sexes *naturally* represented, and its genuine Effects painted, before Art, Ceremony, and what we preposterously call *Good-Manners*, checked the Effusions of the Human Heart, must read *Theocritus Pastorals*, or the *Shepherd's Calendar*.

The four Books of *Agriculture*, are *Virgil's finished Work*; which is a Word of such Weight, when applied to this indefatigable Poet, that it is no Wonder it should, like *Horace's Satirs*, stand un-rivalled in modern Times. The *Predium Rusticum*, or Country-Farm, of *James Vanier*, a beautifully diversified Poem, would have stood next, had he not deformed it with vulgar Superstition, *French Flattery*, and, above all, by fulsome Encomiums of the buckram Saints of his own Order; — for he was a Jesuit. His Countryman, *M. Rapin*, is more discrete; — but having only treated of *Gardens*, and both writing in a foreign Dialect, neither can approach the labored Work of *Virgil*. It is ungenerous to refuse a living Author his just Praise, and would be unjust in itself not to acknowledge the Merit of *Public Virtue*, a Poem, both in Point of Instruction and Entertainment. The first Part, very properly addressed to his late Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, treats of Agriculture, including the Management of Forest-Trees; and, for the Truth of Precept, Variety of Subject, and Smoothness of Verse, is the nearest Resemblance that I know of to *Virgil's Husbandry*. — As for the half-finished *Eneid*,

it is, except in Versification (*Virgil's* supreme Talent), far surpassed in every Respect, in Spirit, Invention, Sublimity of Thought and Expression, by the *British Homer*, *John Milton's Paradise Lost*.

The Authors from whom *Virgil* borrows the most of his Imagery and Descriptions, are *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Antimachus*, *Apollonius*, *Callimachus*, and *Pindar*, in the *Eneid*; *Hesiod*, *Aratus*, and *Parthenius*, in the *Georgics*; and *Theocritus* alone in *Pastorals*. — We can scarce judge what, or how much, he transcribed from *Hesiod's Husbandry*, as that Work is certainly lost². — But we find *Aristotle*, and his Pupil *Theophrastus*, both great Naturalists, plainly expressed in the Lines of *Virgil*, who, I do believe, has been the most laborious Poet that ever wrote. The Pains he has taken, to read, to inform himself, to imitate, to correct, and polish, are quite inconceivable. I discover new Traces of Labor every Time I take up his Works, in those Parts which he had Time to finish; and see plain Vestiges of Study and Literature, which I had taken for happy Flights and

² It is plain from *Manilius*, that *Hesiod* wrote other Books both of Mythology and Agriculture, besides his History of the Creation now extant under the Name of *Theogony*, and his *Economics*, called *Works and Days*.

Pliny, in the Preface to his great Work, makes the most plausible excuse for *Virgil's* Plagiarism, by saying, that he borrowed from the Greeks in Order to vie with them upon the same Subject.

original Touches of the Poet. — His *Georgics*, on which he rested his future Fame, were the Work of seven Years, at the Time of Life when his Imagination was in full Vigor, and his Judgment mature.

The long Duration of the Civil Wars had almost depopulated *Italy*, and laid it waste. A great Part of the Lands had been divided among the Soldiers, who had been too long engaged in the Wars, to have a just Knowledge of Agriculture. Hence it became necessary that the ancient Spirit of Husbandry should be revived among the *Romans*. — Proper Encouragement was given; it became the fashionable Taste; and *Mecenas*, who wisely pursued every Thing that might be of Service to his Master, especially if it could be a Means of diverting the Attention of the People from the Rights and Liberties of their oppressed Country, engaged the favorite Poet in this Undertaking.

Notwithstanding the high Compliments paid to *Augustus*, and even to *Julius Cæsar*, *Virgil's* real Sentiments burst forth by Starts³. — The Strain

³ It was no Compliment to *Augustus*, who was to be flattered with *his* making the State eternal, to prophesy its Destruction.

Non res Romanæ, perituraque Regna.

Georg. Lib. II. v. 498.

Where it is extremely remarkable, that, in the preceding Line,

Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro;

he has mentioned the very People, the Nations from about the Mouth of the *Donaw-Strohm*, who actually effected the Ruin of *Rome*.

of his Works discovers the good Man and the Patriot. His Silence in Regard to some illustrious Persons, particularly *Brutus* and *Cicero*, is solely owing to his *Discretion*: — It was not proper for him *openly* to declare against *Augustus*; it was well enough that, when Prudence permitted, he let his Sentiments be known. The ascribing the Suppression of the great Names of *Cicero*, *Cassius*, *Brutus*, to the Poet's Principle of *passive Obedience*, is a Dream of Mr. *Dryden's*, dictated by his own favorite Creed.

Nothing but the Hurry in which Mr. *Dryden* wrote, could have made a Man of his Taste pronounce so false a Judgment, as that *Virgil's Pollio* and *Silenus*, full of Similitudes drawn from the Woods and Meadows, seem to represent the Poet between the Farmer and the Courtier, when he left *Mantua* for *Rome*: Somewhat too fine for the Place from whence he came, and yet retaining Part of its Simplicity. — Dr. *Lowth*, espousing a quite contrary Opinion, thinks the beautiful Face of Nature was never seen in a more polished Mirror than *Virgil's* Poetry.

The Friendship between *Horace* and *Virgil* is incontestable. The Obligation which this last had to him, and the Affection he bore him, are amply recorded by the grateful *Horace*, who, however, it is certain, looked upon *Varius* as a greater Epic Poet. — *Virgil's Bucolics* only had then been published. — What *Varius* had written in the Epic Way, I know not: But we find the same judicious Critic prefers *Pollio* to *him*,

as a Tragic Writer. — His *Thyestes*, admired by *Quintilian*, was not published till after the Death of *Cassius* of *Parma*, from whose Papers it was suspected to be stolen. — Or must the courtly *Horace* find out something for every one of them to excel in, and make a minute Division of the various Provinces of Poetry, to serve them all, without letting any one monopolize the Talents and Reputation of the Whole? — It is surprising that *Varius* should be reputed the Prince of the Epic Poets, and yet leave nothing in that Way. — Had *Virgil* been a little less nimble, when to avoid the brutal Centurion's Stroke, he jumped into the *Mincio*, he would only have been known by that Part of his Character, — if at all: For little Works easily perish; and I am of Opinion that the *Eneid* has preserved the *Pastorals*, if not the *Georgics*. — For how many elegant, but small, Works have perished, that were the Admiration of Antiquity? It is with Pleasure that I observe Britain to be the only Country in *Europe*, that can vie with *Virgil* in his three Productions, *Pastoral*, *Rural*, and *Heroic*.

“No Man,” says the Author of the Inquiry into the Life and Writings of *Homer*, “writes well upon other Subjects than those he has seen, nor represents truly other Manners than those he has been conversant with.” But *Virgil* never bore Arms, or witnessed any Wars by Land or Sea, except the Ravages of the Veterans. It is true he heard of both, then carrying on, and had undoubtedly an Account of all the Transactions

from the greatest Men and most concerned in them. — The *regular* Manners he saw, and *these* he has represented; as that Author observes. But there is more to be said: — *Virgil* drew his *personal* Characters, if not after *real* Life, which few Poets, except *Camoens*, have done, at least after *traditional* Representations (which has been the Case with *Homer*, and other great Poets), of the Actions and Achievements of his Heroes. These were well known, and in high Vogue in *Rome* in *Virgil's* Time, as appears, among many other Proofs, from an indecent Story of a dissolute Favorite of *Pompey's* (*Gabinus*,) who, being made Consul by his Patron's Interest, that is, chief Magistrate of the most sedate, severe, and grave State in the World, played the Tumbler in his Function, and trampling upon all Regard to Decency, in a grand Entertainment, turned Buffoon to the Company, and then acted the Character of *Turnus*, imitating his Speech and Manner in some great Action (perhaps his Death by the Hand of *Eneas*); so that the Audience were entertained with a Representation of a *known* Character. — *Virgil's Turnus* is therefore, in some Sense, from the Life.—

Imitation, in any Art, is a Shackle in itself; — in so far as it calls off the Attention from the general Execution to a *Manner* of executing, and likewise hinders the Imitator from transgressing, and consequently from surpassing, *that* Manner. A real Genius is distinguished by new Strokes, and daring Flights to unknown Regions, or

adding untrodden Paths to those known before. Accordingly, says the philosophic Orator, no Additions and Improvements, either in Arts or any Institution whatever, have ever been made by those who stuck close to former Inventions; but by such as ventured to correct them, and dared to discard the Mistakes of their Masters *.

Martial sent his *Epigrams* to *Silius Italicus*, the Author of the Epic Poem on the *Punic War*, in the same Way, said he, as perhaps *Catullus* sent his *Sparrow* to *Virgil*. These last must have been co-temporary, and *Virgil* must have had some Reputation before *Catullus's* Death.

Virgil is greatly debased by those, who turn him into an Astrologer, and make him predict the Empire to the young *Cæsar* from the Marks on his Body, from whence, say they, he gathered the Configuration of the Planets at his Nativity. Whoever can believe this, may likewise swallow the Act of the Senate, forbidding the bringing up any male Child, born that Year, because the *Planets* declared that an Emperor was born. No Doubt they intended to do Honor to *Virgil*, who first feigned the Tale of the Apostle *Paul* (a Jew, who spoke and wrote *Greek*, cut upon the *Syrian* Phrase of his native Language,) going to *Virgil's* Tomb at *Naples*, and weeping for Grief that so great a Poet had not heard of *Jesus Christ*, that he might have employed his Talents in celebrating Him to all the World. Had this been true, *St. Paul* must have taken the Poet's Character upon

* ΙΣΟΚΡ.

Trust (for it does not appear that he understood the *Latin Tongue*), and must not have understood *Virgil's Pollio* as a Prophecy of the *Messiah*.

We have an Instance of the Regard that was paid to *Virgil* by Posterity, in the Character which is given of *Silius Italicus*, by the younger *Pliny*¹. *Silius* was a *Roman Nobleman*, and had acted a Part in the Administration under *Nero*, which had hurt his Reputation. But he retrieved it by his Conduct in the After-Reigns, and principally by the Use he made of his Friendship with *Vitellius*. He was Consul, and had *Asia* for his Province, where he gained great Honor. At his Return, the Tranquillity and Innocence of his Life quite effaced the Remembrance of his former Behaviour, and, though without Power, he was looked upon as one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. He was courted and his Levee thronged, more like that of a Minister who had Honors and Places to dispose of, than a Man given up to Poetry, and the Conversation of the Learned. His Compositions show more Labor than Genius; and he sometimes made Trial how they would take, by reading them in public. Towards the End of his Life, he retired from Town, and passed his Days most agreeably in *Campania*, from whence even the Accession of a new Emperor, and a Change of Times, could not bring him to *Rome*. There are few Princes who would have allowed such Liberty; and few Men of his Rank who durst have taken it. He loved Magnificence and

¹ Lib. III. Ep. 7.

Beauty, so as to be thought rather too greedy of a new Purchase. He had many *Villas* in the same Country, was always fond of the last bought, and careless about the old. They were all filled with Books, Statues, and Pictures. It cannot be said he *admired* his Statues, for he almost *worshipped* them; and above all the Rest, that of *Virgil* the Poet, whose Birth-Day he kept much more religiously than his own, usually celebrating it at *Naples*, where he approached the Monument of the deceased Bard with the same Ceremony as he would have done to the Shrine of a Divinity. In this Life of Leisure and Learning he reached his 75th Year, when he was seized with a Disorder, which was judged incurable; and rather than bear the Pain it was attended with, he starved himself to Death. *Nero* was killed in his Consulship, and he out-lived all the Consulars created by that Prince.

Having chanced to mention *Levéés*, I cannot help observing that they were of pretty ancient Standing among the *Romans*. It was the Ambition of their great Men to have many Clients, that is, Dependants, whom they protected and directed in their Business; and for that Purpose they threw open the Doors of their Houses to them early in the Morning: But it was the aspiring *Caius Gracchus*, and soon after him *Livius Drusus*, who established the Ceremonial. They first divided the Train of their Attendants, and received some in their Closet, others in their Antichamber, and the Rest in Public. By this Means

Means they had first, second, and third Rate Friends, and few true Ones: For surely that Man cannot be called a Friend, whose Compliment is prescribed, and who must not smper but when it comes to his Turn⁶. The *Salutatorium Cubile*, or Chamber of Presence, was frequently set round with Quince-Trees, to make it fresh.

The Emperor *Alexander Severus* had in his Palace two Chapels, in which the principal Objects of his Veneration were ranged under two Classes, the one sacred to *Virtue*, the other to *Talents*⁷. In the first of these were Statues of all the good Emperors, among whom he reckoned *Alexander the Great*; and next to them, the wise Men by whose useful Lessons Mankind had been benefited, — *Abraham*, *Orpheus*, *Apollonius - Tyaneus*, and *Jesus Christ*: — A strange Mixture! But which, however, shows the Inclination of that Prince to venerate Virtue wherever he thought he found it. The second Chapel was for military Heroes, and Men conspicuous in the Republic of Letters, *Achilles*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, whom he called the *Plato* of the Poets, and some other famous Names.

Among the ancient *Romans*, the great Court, or Entry to their House, was not ornamented with curious Statues of vast Value, the Work of foreign Artists, but with the real Effigies of their Forefathers, done first in Wood, and then in Wax, and placed in a Series of Niches which shut with

⁶ *Seneca*, de Benef. Lib. VI. §. 34.

⁷ *Lamprid.* Alex. 26. 28 — 31.

Doors, and under each Image was placed a Book, containing the great Actions of the Person represented, in his several Magistracies. Round the outer Gate, or great Entry, were ranged the Spoils and Trophies taken from the Enemies of *Rome*, which, if the Misfortunes of the Family obliged the House to be sold, the Purchaser had no Right to remove. These Images, which were held very sacred, were never taken out but at Funerals, to be carried in Procession with the Deceased. — *Messala*, seeing with Indignation the Effigies of one of the *Levini* entered among his Ancestors, immediately ordered it to be taken away: And afterwards, seeing the *Salutian* Race creeping into the Pedigree of the *Scipio's* by a testamentary Adoption, he sat down, though arrived at a great Age, and wrote his *Treatise of Genealogies* ^s.

The public Statues anciently erected to the Patriots of *Rome*, were of Copper or Bronze. The first of Silver was the Effect of Flattery, — one reared to *Augustus*. — Silver Statues, and even Gold Ones, had indeed been seen in *Rome* before: But they were of foreign Tyrants, or Eastern Deities. — Such as *Pharnaces's* Statue, and *Mithridates's* Chariot, carried to *Rome* in *Sextus Pompey's* Triumph; and the golden Image of *Venus Anaitis*, sacrilegiously plundered by *Antony's* Veterans. But now the *Materials* began to be valued, as the *Excellency of the Art* diminished: For all the paltry Pensions given by absolute Power

^s *Plin.*

cannot inspire that Ardor and noble Ambition, which courts the Approbation of the Free, pants for immortal Fame, and basks in the Beams of Liberty. Neither could the Wealth of the World produce a *Phidias* or a *Polyclete*.

Agrippa, on his Return to *Rome*⁹, after the Reduction of *Cantabria*, received the Reward of his Modesty. He had declined the Honors of a Triumph, and was now made *Augustus*'s Colleague in the *Tribuneship* for five Years. This Title was one of the *essential* Characteristics of the supreme Authority; and if *Agrippa* was invested with it for a no longer Term, *Augustus* himself, who had undertaken the Command of the Armies and the Administration of the Provinces for ten Years, as I observed before, when that Power was ready to expire, had it continued to him only for five Years: So that he treated *Agrippa* almost as himself: — to make People think that both of them, at the End of the five Years, would surrender up to the Republic the Authority which they had received from it.

Thus seconded by a powerful Associate in the most powerful of all Magistracies, and able to show an Avenger ready to punish whoever should dare to think of attempting his Life, *Augustus* resumed the arduous Task of reforming the Senate, in which, notwithstanding what had been retrenched in his former Review, there still were several Members no Way qualified to do Honor

⁹ In the Beginning of the Year of *Rome*, DCCXXXIV.

to that august Assembly. Shocked at the audacious Assurance of some, and the fullsome Adulation¹, corrupt Morals, and low Birth of others, he wished to reduce it to its original Number of three hundred; and would frequently say, he should think himself happy, if *Rome* and *Italy* could furnish so many Men worthy to be Members of the public Council of the Empire. But perceiving that the Senators were much alarmed at the Thoughts of so great a Diminution of their Body, he judged it most prudent not to reduce them below six hundred, which had been their Number in the most flourishing Times of the Republic.

His Plan being settled, he endeavoured to carry it into Execution in the Manner least hazardous to himself. To this End, imitating what was sometimes practised in the Army, he left to the Senators themselves the Choice of their Brother-Senators. He first named thirty; chosen, upon Oath, out of the most worthy. Each of those thirty, after taking the same Oath, was to chuse five, none of which were to be their Relations; and these five were to draw Lots, which of them should be the Senator. The last thirty, thus elected, were to repeat the same Operation; and so on, till they had made up the Number of six hundred. But Tricks were played, and Difficulties arose, which gave *Augustus* such Disgust,

¹ Cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus. *Horat.*
Sat. Lib. II. 1.

as prevented his pursuing a System so apparently advantageous.

Thus, for Example, he met with a great Mortification from *Antistius Labeo*, who put the old Triumvir *Lepidus* at the Head of his five. *Augustus*, unable to contain himself on this Occasion, accused *Labeo* of being perjured, and asked him, with Indignation, whether, agreeable to the Oath he had taken, he did not know any one more worthy? *Labeo* answered calmly, that every Man judged for himself²; “And after all,” added he, “what Fault can you find with me, for thinking the Person whom you suffer to enjoy the High-Priesthood, worthy to be a Senator?”

Labeo had inherited the high Sentiments of a Republican, from his Father, who, after fighting in the Plains of *Philippi* in the Cause of Liberty, when he saw the Battle lost, made one of his Slaves kill him. The Son, brought up in the same Principles, always preserved a great Haughtiness. *Augustus* having expressed some Uneasiness, on Account of the Number of Malecontents which this Review of the Senate had made, somebody proposed that the Senators should form a Guard about his Person. “I am apt to sleep,” answered *Labeo* roughly, — “I should be but a bad Guard.” — Such Speeches, to which his whole Conduct answered, were far from being a Means of currying Favor with the Prince; and accordingly, though a Man of great Merit and an

² *Suet.* in Aug. §. LIV.

excellent Civilian, he never could obtain the Consulate, whilst every Honor was heaped upon his Rival in the Law, *Ateius Capito*, who knew better how to suit himself to the Times.

Antistius Labeo was a Person worthy of the ancient Commonwealth, and would have shone in both Parts of the Character of a Roman Magistrate; Military Skill to conduct an Army, and Knowledge of the Laws, to administer Justice, as well as Counsel to his Clients. But the *Cæsarean* Usurpation having excluded him from the Exercise of the former, he applied himself to the latter with such Assiduity and Success, that he became the Oracle of the Age in Jurisprudence. At the same Time, the Integrity of his Life, and his strict Adherence to the legal Forms, standing in no Awe of the Court, but strenuously asserting the Rights of the People against the Encroachments of Power, procured him the Veneration of all good Men. — It is not impossible but that he may have carried this Adherence to the old legal Forms, perhaps, too far in *small Matters*, and thereby have drawn a Kind of Ridicule on his better Conduct; for the Courtiers affected to laugh at him as half-mad. — A common Case, when superior Probity and Parts render a Man not so pliable as they could wish. However, not able to bear down his Character by sneering, a shrewd Lawyer, of an equally good Head, but worse Heart, *Ateius Capito*, was set up against Him, and advanced to be Consul, that, by the Splendor of that high Dignity, he might eclipse

Labeo, who (oppressed by the Court) rose no higher than the Pretorship. But this Depression turned to his Honor. The Cause of it being known to proceed from a sacred Attachment to the Laws of his Country, the more he was opposed, the more popular he became. He had an admirable Talent at explaining the ancient Laws, and reconciling their seeming Jarrings. This he principally did by tracing the Propriety of the Terms in which they were conceived, by Means of their Etymology, and thereby showing their true original Acceptation. — For the Language in which most of the Laws were written, was now pretty much disused, and even the *Twelve Tables* were become next to unintelligible.

C. Trebatius Testa, another Lawyer, who likewise became remarkably famous about this Time, was, in his Youth, one of those wise Persons, who think the chief Business of Life is to make Money. Being a Man of Genius, and good Education, about the Time of the first Triumvirate, he thought the readiest Way to grow rich was to throw himself and his Parts, natural or acquired, into the Arms of *Julius Caesar*, who was then courting and bribing every Mortal, with a View to his future Usurpation. *Trebatius* procured Letters of Recommendation to him from *Tullius Cicero*, whom the over-grown *Three* were likewise courting at that Time, through a Dread of his Integrity, and the Power of his Eloquence at *Rome*. With these Letters he went directly to *Gaul*, delivered them, and seems to have expected, that, without

more ado, *Cæsar* was immediately to pour a golden Shower into his Lap. He met, as we may easily believe, with a Disappointment, of which he complained to his Friend *Cicero*, who taxes him with a little Impatience in his Expectations. He therefore continued with *Cæsar*, who had no great Use for a Camp Lawyer, and followed him into *Britain* in his first Expedition, but found some Pretence to excuse himself from a second Voyage, and, I doubt not, received the Reward of his Campaigns from that designing Man, who, among other Things, gave him a Tribune's Pay, without obliging him to do the Duty. — But when the Civil War broke out, *Trebatius*, happy in the Friendship of *Cicero* and *Brutus*, near to whose Lands his Estate lay, embarked in the Cause of the Common-Wealth, and even remained in Arms after *Pompey's* Defeat; I suppose, either under *Cato* in *Africa*, or with the young *Pompeys* in *Spain*. This kept him long in Exile from *Rome* — However, during *Cæsar's* Usurpation, by the Intercession of the excellent *Pansa*, and of *Balbus* and *Hirtius*, he at last had Liberty to return: But his Estate was forfeited, and subjected to the Spear³ for Sale, which must have been very galling to a Man of his interested Turn. After that, I imagine he retired from public Busi-

³ Among the ancient *Romans*, Auctions were performed by the public Crier *sub hastâ*, that is, under a Spear, stuck up on that Occasion, and by some Magistrate, who made good the Sale.

ness, and lived obscure during the Convulsions of the Triumvirate, until the Law began to recover Strength; when his great Knowledge, and now mature Judgment, must have made him doubly valuable. — He was of a chearful Disposition, loved good Eating, and his Bottle, which he used alternately with cold Bathing for Health and Pleasure, and, like other Doctors, prescribed the same Regimen to his Friend *Horace*. — It was to him that *Cicero* addressed his *Topics*, extracted from *Aristotle*, and filled, according to his Custom, with elegant Examples, suggested by his own Experience and Observation. They were written during his intended Journey to *Greece*, the Summer after *Cæsar* was killed. — The slow Way of Travelling practised by the Ancients afforded many Opportunities for Study.

Had we only the Instances already mentioned, they would show us that neither the Spirit nor even the Language of Liberty was quite extinguished under *Augustus*. Some Men of Parts and Learning, who had seen the Times of the Republic, and hazarded every Thing in its Cause, still chose to appear *Free*. Upon these it was the Business of the Court to throw an Air of Ridicule. The general Mildness of the Administration greatly favored the Attempt, and was no small Prejudice against those who were not contented with it. — Nor did some of their private Lives contribute much to screen them from Reproach. — But there were three or four eminent Persons, to whom I hope Posterity will make Amends for the ill Usage

they met with from their Contemporaries; *Valerius*, *Messala*, *Varro Atacinus*, *T. Labienus*, *Antistius Labeo*, and *Cassius* of *Parma*. — I cannot say that I read *Horace's* Sneers at these worthy Persons with any Degree of Pleasure. — The Deserter *Menas*, and the turbulent foul-mouthed *Cassius Severus*, are at his Service. But would it not have been better that he had remembered with what Party he set out in Life, than to have propagated the shallow Cavils against the upright *Labeo*, or discovered a Bias against Men of such elevated Genius as *Cassius* and *Varro*.

Labienus was a great Orator, and struggled through many Impediments to a high Reputation for Eloquence. His Behaviour was severe, and his Look haughty: But the Strictness of his Life not corresponding to his Manner, and being extremely poor, he was but ill received. Yet, by mere Strength of his Eloquence, he forced Approbation, and pleased his Audience against their Will; and though every body blamed his Life, they all allowed him to be a superior Genius. — What uncommon Excellence must it have been, that could break through so many Obstacles! For it is Favor and Applause that encourage Men to cultivate and exert their Talents. The Cast of his Language was old, while it had all the Vivacity and Grace of a modern Style. He took such Liberties as exceeded all Bounds, sparing no Rank or Quality in his Rage of Speaking, so that, instead of *Labienus*, he was called *Rabienus*. Equally impetuous in whatever he espoused, he had not,

in so long a Peace, laid aside the *Pompeian* resolute Temper. His Enemies, having the upper Hand, obtained a Sentence, That all his Writings should be publicly burnt. A new and unheard of Thing, to inflict Punishments upon Learning^{*}! Luckily for us, the Triumvirs did not dream of proscribing *Cicero's* Works, as well as his Head; — and luckily again, these Punishments did not begin till the great Geniuses were ending. Yet this proved but an impotent Attempt: For *Labienus's* Writings were permitted to be searched for, and perused, by *C. Caligula*, who affected Popularity at his Accession to the Empire. — *Labienus*, unable to bear the Affront, and determined not to survive his Productions, shut himself up in the Tomb of his Ancestors, and there ended his Days. *Seneca* the Father was present at his reading a History of his own composing, and a good Deal of it remained to be read, when, folding up the Parchment, he said, “What I pass over now, will be read “after my Death.” What Freedom must there have been, which even *Labienus* was afraid of!

The Expedient of leaving to the Senators themselves the Choice of those who were to complete their Number, not having answered *Augustus's* Expectation, he resolved personally to finish that

^{*} Quod metuas non est, *Antonî* scripta leguntur:

Doctus & in promptu scrinia *Brutus* habet.

Says *Ovid*, seeking Admittance at least for his Writings.

Ex Ponto, Lib. I. Ep. 1. ad Brutum.

^{*} *Senec.* Controv. V. Proem. *Macrob.* Sat. Lib. I. c. 2.

Work, with the Assistance of *Agrippa*; and accordingly named the Members to fill up the Vacancies. Though he proceeded in this with the utmost Care and Caution, he could not avoid giving just Cause of Dissatisfaction to several. *Li-vineius Regulus* complained in full Senate, that he was excluded, whilst his Son, and many others, to whom he thought himself no Way inferior, were admitted. He enumerated his Campaigns, and, with Indignation, tore open his Garment, to show the honorable Scars of Wounds received in his Breast. *Arunculeius Pætus* desired leave to resign his Place to his Father, who had been struck off the List. Upon these, and other Remonstrances of the same Nature, *Augustus* revised his Work, and made some Alterations.

This Condescension encouraged many others to complain; some with, and others without Reason. To those whose Remonstrances seemed well grounded, he granted the honorary Privileges of Senators, and allowed them to stand for Offices which might bring them into the Senate. Some took Advantage of this Opening, of which there had been Instances in the Time of the Republic. Others spent their Lives in a middle State, between the Rank of Senator and the Condition of a private Citizen.

Thus far *Augustus* seems not to deserve Censure in this Affair. But his Behaviour towards *Lepidus* on this Occasion was abominably mean and pitiful. That Triumvir, when deposed, had retired into the Country to conceal the Shame of his Fall.

Augustus, piqued at his being continued a Senator, forced him to reside in *Rome*, and attend the Meetings of the Senate, that he might there be exposed to the Sneers and Insults of all the *Creatures* of the *Prince*, who himself affected never to ask his Opinion, or let him speak, till all the others of Consular Dignity had done. — How much more noble, more becoming the Master of the World, would it have been, to let an Enemy, from whom he had no longer any Thing to fear, spend the Remainder of his Days in the obscure Retreat which he himself had chosen! But *this Cæsar* had not the Soul of *Julius*.

Several of the Malecontents were suspected of having bad Designs against *Augustus* and *Agrippa*. Of this Number was the hot-headed *Egnatius Rufus*, mentioned before. — His Birth was noble; but he kept not to the Dignity of his Family. He was bold, daring, and profuse; more like a Gladiator than a Senator; and reduced by his extravagant Courses to the fatal Necessity of being undone himself, or undoing the Public: — A Matter of no long Deliberation with a Man of his Turn. Madly elated by the Favor of the People, who had ordered him the Expenses of his Edileship out of the Treasury, and voted him Pretor before the Time, because he had extinguished some Fires in *Rome* with the Help of his own Slaves; he was so exasperated at the Affront put upon him by *Sentius*, when he professed himself a Candidate for the Consulship, that he thought of nothing less than making away with

the Man under whose Government that Magistrate had dared to give it. He communicated his Design to a Set of Men of his own Character, who could not keep the Secret. They were all seized, and ended their Lives in Prison soon after.

Among those whom *Augustus* continued in the Senate, or upon whom he conferred the Rank of Senator, were many who did not possess so great a Fortune as that Dignity required, according to the ancient Laws. The Civil Wars had ruined Numbers of Families, and particularly the Nobility, who, by being at the Head of Factions, are always most exposed. Taking into consideration this Inconvenience, which was general, he reduced the necessary Qualification of a Senator, in Point of Estate, to four hundred thousand Sesterces (3248 l.); the Half of what it had been fixed at in the happy Times of the Republic. — But afterwards, when Peace and Tranquillity began to repair the shattered Fortunes of the Citizens, he brought it up to the old Standard of eight hundred thousand Sesterces (6496 l.); then to a Million (8120 l.); and at last to twelve hundred thousand (9744 l.)

The general Opinion, that Dignities ought to be supported by Riches, rendered these Regulations very proper: — But, lest Poverty should exclude from the Senate any who, in all other Respects, were perfectly qualified to do Honor to that Body, and Service to the State, *Augustus* was always ready nobly to assist the Deserving,

so as to make up their Deficiency of Fortune by his Liberalities.

After this nice and important Work of reforming the Senate, *Augustus*, as *Inspector of the Manners*, set about correcting several Abuses which had risen to an enormous Height. — But the Depravity of Morals, frequent Adulteries, and scandalous Celibacy of the *Romans*, Fruits of Luxury and Sources of Libertinism, were Disorders difficult to extirpate. Riches and Prosperity first brought them into *Rome*; the continual Vicissitudes of public Events gave them an Opportunity to take deep Root; and the Licentiousness ever attending War encouraged their bold Appearance; whilst the Ease and Plenty which now flowed from the Tranquillity of the State, fed and nourished them. Even those, who were least rigid, uttered loud Complaints². — But *Cæsar's* pretending to suppress Adultery, whilst his own Example gave the Lie to all his Precepts, was like *Lewis XIV.* affecting to show Marks of his Displeasure to any of the great Men at Court

² Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias

Primum inquinavere, & genus, & domos:

Hoc fonte derivata clades

In patriam populumque fluxit.

Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos

Matura virgo, & fingitur artibus:

Jam nunc & incestos amores

De tenero meditatur ungui.

Hor. Od. Lib. III. 6.

who kept a Mistress, while he was openly living with the Marchioness of *Montespan*, who brought him a Child almost every Year: A Conduct which could arise only from the blindest Partiality, or an Opinion, that the living with another Man's Wife was a Privilege solely pertaining to a Monarch.

Celibacy, always hurtful to every State, and particularly so to the Republic at this Time, when there was the greatest Want of an Increase of Citizens, to replace those whom the Civil Wars had carried off, had been always thought dishonorable among the *Romans*, and was subject to a pecuniary Tax. *Augustus* increased that Tax, and granted certain Rewards and Privileges to such as married and had several Children¹; as his Uncle *Julius* had done after the *African War*. To render Marriages still more easy, he allowed all who were not Senators, or Sons of Senators, to marry Freed-Women, without Prejudice either to the Parties contracting, or their Children, from the Inequality of such Alliances: And as it had been a too general Custom to marry young Children, in Order to avoid the Penalty at all Times imposed on Celibacy, he expressly forbid the making of any Contract with a Girl less than ten Years old; so that the Marriage might be celebrated within two Years at most after the Contract. He likewise put a Stop to the too great Facility of Divorces, by which Dissensions

¹ *Suet.* in *Aug.* § XXXIV. & *Dio.*

and Disturbances had been created in many Families; and inflicted Punishments on such as made them without sufficient Cause.

He met with great Difficulties in establishing these Laws; — so prevalent was the general Licentiousness, and the Convenience of Celibacy, which, though far from being a State of Chastity, was not clogged with the Cares attending a Family and the Education of Children. In vain did he alledge the Maxims of Antiquity; in vain, to enforce his Precepts, did he cause to be read in the Senate a Harangue of the Cenfor *Metellus Macedonicus*, exhorting every Citizen to marry: — He could not bring over Men in whom the Spirit of Libertinism had got the better of Reason. Some of the Senators, to embarrass the too rigid Legislator, by hinting at the Contradiction between his own Morals and his Laws, observed, that one of the greatest Impediments to Marriage was the loose Conduct of Women and young Folks; and that that must be the first Thing remedied, if it was intended to strike at the Root of the Evil.

Augustus readily comprehended the secret Meaning of these sly Remonstrances, and endeavoured to elude them by saying, that he had settled the most important Points, but that it was not possible to remedy every Thing equally well. His Opponents insisted, and he defended himself by saying, “It is your Business, Gentlemen, to regulate your Families, and to give your Wives proper Advice, as I do.” Still the refractory ones

would not give it up, but desired to know, what might be that proper Advice which he gave to *Livia*, from which she profited so much. Upon this, he entered into a Detail of the Dress of Women, their proper Behaviour in public, the Company they ought to see, and other such like Topics. *Dion Cassius* says nothing farther: but it is certain from *Suetonius*, and from the Roman Law, that *Augustus* did issue an Edict against Adultery; and it is not improbable that the Importunities of which I have now been speaking, may, in some Measure, have compelled him to it.

We cannot be certain what was the exact Tenor of that Law. — Severe, or not, it does not appear that *Augustus* was over-careful to see it strictly observed. — A young Man being accused before him, of having married a Woman with whom he had lived in a State of Adultery, *Augustus* was puzzled; not daring either to acquit or punish the Criminal. He evaded the Difficulty, by saying, “The Licentiousness of former Times has given
“ Rise to many Disorders, of which this is one.
“ Let us forget the Past, and take the best Measures we can for the Future.”

But still he never lost Sight of that Object of his serious Attention, Celibacy; and though he could not then complete what he intended on that Head, by Reason of the Difficulties which arose, he afterwards finished his Work in the Year of Rome DCCLII, by the famous Law *Papia Poppæa*, so called from the Consuls *Papius*

and *Poppæus* *, under whom it was passed. — Both of these happened to be Bachelors, which gave Occasion to many severe Sarcasms against its Promoters. I shall leave to Civilians, whose Business it is, the Task of explaining, so far as they can, all the Tenor of this Law; and shall only observe with *Tacitus* †, that it had two principal Objects; the one, to punish Celibacy; and the other to enrich the Treasury, by the Forfeiture of all collateral Inheritances and Legacies, that fell to Citizens not married. It was intended to amend the *Julian* Law, and contained so many Heads, both obliging to marry, under severe Penalties, and, at the same Time, restricting Marriage to Persons of such and such Condition, (*viz.* Equals), and incapacitating their Children to inherit, if not so begotten, that it became one of the most intricate Knots of the *Roman* Law, an inexhaustible Fund of Chicanery, a principal Source of Guilt for the horrid Tribe of Informers to found their Allegations on, and was likely to prove the Cause of infinite Disorders in the State, if *Tiberius* had not appointed a select Committee of fifteen Senators to mitigate its Rigor. This Committee explained some of the intricate Points, and removed the Inconveniencies of others, but only for a While.

* They were substituted on the first of *July*, in the Room of those who had begun the Year. Their Names at Length were *M. Papius Mutilus*, and *Q. Poppæus Secundus*.

† *Annal.* Lib. I. c. 25.

The Mischiefs arising from it sprang up again, and were felt severely, till at last it was totally abrogated by the Emperor *Severus*.

I am not to give the History of *Justinian's* Legislation, nor of the Rise of his Code, compiled at the Expence of the original Constitutions of the Common-Wealth. Let me only express my Wonder, that after adopting this second-hand Body of the *Roman* Law, and making it a Part of *European* Polity, Men of Spirit should have been so blind as to take implicitly all the *low adventitious* Parts that had crept into it in a Course of Tyranny, and keep a Pother about *these*, as if they had Virtue enough to sanctify Cruelty and Usurpation, or deprive Nations of their *natural Rights*. Yet this is the Purpose to which they have been too often applied by the flattering Lawyers of almost all the Courts in *Europe*, under Pretence *that this was Law*. — Let us be more particular, and lay open the Foundations of the Royal Claim to absolute Power, as the Nature of the Subject, and of my own Profession, seems to require.

That great Lawyer and good Man, *Domitius Ulpian*, *Papinian's* Scholar, has inserted these formal Words in his Abridgment of the *Papian Poppæan* Statute : *Princeps Legibus solutus est**, *The Prince is not subject to the Law*. Upon which the Patrons of arbitrary Power, that is, the Court-Parasites in every Kingdom, found their Claim, and triumph in the clear precise Manner

* Lib. XIII. L. 31. D. de Legib.

in which the Decision is delivered. *Princeps Legibus solutus est!* "What need we, say they, any
 " other Testimony than this irrefragable One in
 " the Heart of the Code, declaring as plainly as
 " Words can express it, that, by *Law* itself,
 " *the King is above the Laws*, which only bind
 " his *Subjects?*"

Were it as they say: — Had a Lawyer, in an enslaved State, at the *Tyrant's* Command, inserted a Clause, with such an Intent, into an Abstract of old Laws⁷, it would be no more binding upon Free-Men, than a Decision of the Mufti, that the Lives and Fortunes of all the Subjects of the *Turkish* Empire are *legally* at the Mercy of his sublime Highness the Sultan. Long before the Days of *Caracalla*, when *Ulpian* was compiling, the *Romans* had been, what they then were, abject Slaves; and no Act, Command, or Constitution of their haughty *Lords*, the *Emperors*, can infer any Obligation, or give Sanction to a Law to strip *free-born* Men of their *native Rights*. The

⁷ *Princeps Legibus solutus est* stands in *Justinian's Pandects*, under the Title of *De Legibus*, as if it had dropt from the Sky; — it is so unconnected, and torn as it were from the Subject it ought to treat of. It is suspected to have been originally coined by *Ateius Capito*, the Court-Lawyer, and to mean that the Prince was exempted from the Penalty of the *Julian* Law, *De maritandis Ordinibus*, or the same Law amended under the Title of the *Papian Poppæan*; and *Ulpian*, the Compiler, seems to have taken this Scrap from *Capito's* Comment upon that Law.

Constitutions of *China*, or the more monstrous ones of *Japan*, might be as well brought to prove the Legality of arbitrary Rule in *Great Britain*. — The fundamental Laws of any State, that has given a Sanction to the Code, virtually destroy any such Shoot of Slavery as may have been thus grafted into it.

But, after all, it is certainly true, *that there is no such Law in the Code*, and that the Meaning which some prostitute Lawyers have put upon *Ulpian's Words*, is the farthest in the World from his real Intention.

In the Days of Liberty, when the Exigencies of the Common-Wealth called for *extraordinary Measures*, or when Persons were to be vested with *extraordinary Commands*, it was usual for the *Roman People* to pass a Vote exempting that Person from the Obligation of the Law that disqualified him for such Command; — in the same Manner as We, in Times of imminent Danger, suspend our sacred *Habeas-Corpus-Act*, or prolong the Time given to Persons duly to qualify themselves for the Offices they hold in the State. This Vote of the *Roman People* was called *Legibus solvere*, *to loose them from the Laws*, — not in general, which is grossly absurd, but from the particular Law; for Example, the *Annarian*, proposed by *L. Villius*, which forbade any Man to be Consul before he was forty-two Years of Age⁹. Thus the great *Scipio Africanus* was refused the Edileship,

⁹ *Cicer. Philip. V. § 17.*

because of his Youth. — But first his adoptive Grandson the *Emilian Scipio*, then *C. Marius*, then *Pompey the Great*, and many other eminent Persons, obtained a Dispensation, and were *soluti Legibus*, loosed from the Laws, and elected into Magistracies and Commands before the legal Term.

In Imitation of these, *Augustus*, who much affected a legal Color, or ancient Custom, was himself *solutus Lege Cincia*, dispensed from the Obligation of the *Cincian Law*. *Livia* too was freed from *Augustus's* own *Papian Poppæan* Statute, and enabled to succeed to a Part of his personal Estate, from which that Law cut her off. In the same Way the following Princes were exempted from particular Laws, which were either specified and rehearsed in the Act of Exception, or referred to as extant in former Acts of the same Nature. Such was the Decree of the Senate preserved in the curious Inscription copied by *Janus Gruterus*, exempting *Vespasian*, not from all Laws, but from those Laws from which *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Caius*, and *Claudius*, his Predecessors, had been exempted before². Nay, not only these great Personages were thus exempted from the Power of this Law, but in the Body of the Act itself, the same Indulgence was given to the People of the lowest Rank, who, by Disease, Lameness, Poverty, or any other insurmountable Impediment, should be judged by the Senate not to come within the Statute.

² *Gruter. Inscript. page 243.*

Two Circumstances more are necessary, in Order to understand *Ulpian* perfectly: First, that the famous Marriage-Act, or *Papian Poppæan* Law, consisted of so many Heads, (comprehending all former Acts,) made so many Provisos, gave so many Premiums, inflicted so many Penalties, and entered so deep into the Succession and Conveyance of Estates by latter Wills, that it became the chief Object of Attention, and was not only called *The Law*¹, by Way of Eminence, but *The Laws*², as if it had absorbed all the Rest: and in this Way it is generally mentioned by *Pomponius*, by *Justinian* himself, by *Tribonian*, and the other Lawyers.

Then, it was not only called the *Marriage-Law*, the *Julian*, the *Papian Poppæan*, and the *Laws* but because of the many Forfeitures which by its Means fell to the Exchequer, it was likewise termed the *Lex Caducaria*, or the *Law of Forfeits*. The Estates, Bonds, Sums of Money, Slaves, in short, all Goods and Chattels that thus fell to the Crown, were called *Caduca*; which explains some Passages of the *Roman* Satyrists, that often puzzled their Commentators. But when *Julius Cæsar*'s impious Saying³ was truly accomplished, when the Common-Wealth was indeed

¹ Gavisa est certe sublatam *Cynthia* Legem,
Quâ quondam edicta flemus uterque diu.

Propert.

² Qui secundum præcepta *Legum* coeunt.

Instit. §. 1. de Nupt.

³ Nihil esse *Rem-publicam*.

reduced to Nothing, and their absolute Lord was become *Proprietor* of all the Public Money; it then became preposterous to make *him* pay those Fines and Forfeitures, which were to be re-paid into his own Coffers: — Wherefore *Ulpian*, after reciting the various Heads of the Marriage-Laws, and particularly those enacting the Forfeitures in Case of Contravention, adds most naturally, *Princeps Legibus solutus est*. — The Emperor is exempted from the *Marriage-Act*, or from the *Forfeitures* incurred by transgressing it. This is the evident Meaning of *Ulpian*; and a learned and lively *French Lawyer*, Mr. *Geoffroi*, though no Friend to Monarchy at the Bottom, seems to have been a little tainted with the *Manners* of his enslaved Country, when he stretches an Exemption from the *Lex Caducaria*, or Statute of Forfeitures, to all the *positive Law* of the *Romans*; which is the more strange, as *Ulpian*, the Compiler, immediately adds, *that though the Empress be not exempted from these Laws* (by any Decree of the Senate), *yet she receives from her Consort the same Privileges which he himself enjoyed*.

No Wonder this Law should meet with such Difficulties in its Passing, and afterwards prove so momentous in its Consequences. It was a severe Restraint upon those Passions which Men and Women have the least in their Power. It took Advantage, as it were, of the *Weak-Side* of Human Nature; and where Persons, in the Height of Life, have the least Command of them-

selves, it enjoined Abstinence under the severest Penalties.

The *Roman Law*, like other Arts, was of *Grecian* Extract, having been brought Home by a solemn Embassy sent from the *Decemvirs* to all the famed States of *Greece*, out of whose Statutes they picked the most befitting their own Constitution, and composed the *Law* of the celebrated *Twelve Tables*. In this Composition, and particularly in adapting foreign Laws to *Roman* Manners, they are said to have been assisted by the famed Exile *Hermodorus*, who was actually banished by his Fellow-Citizens for this expressed Reason; *That he was too good and too sober a Man*; with the Addition of this remarkable Clause, annexed to the Act of Banishment, *Let no one of our Citizens presume to be worthy or frugal: If he do, let him instantly remove to another Town.* — This Law, which only spoke out what most loose People think, passed in *Ephesus*, the Chief of the *Jonian* Towns, not more noted for the wonderful Temple of *Diana*, and for a Zeal, or Enthusiasm, in her Worship, scarce to be paralleled in History, than for Profusion and dissolute Manners.

Exclusive therefore of the Ordinances of *Romulus*, of the Statutes of *Servius* and the other Kings, if any were preserved, and of the occasional Decrees of the Fathers and prior Acts of the People, the *Twelve Tables* were the Basis of the *Roman Law*. — Its other Sources were, I. *Senatus Consulta*, *Plebiscita*, *Leges*, which we

should call *Decrees of the Lords*, *Orders of the Commons*, *Statutes*; II. *Responsa Prætorum*, *Decisions of Judges in Office*; and III. *Responsa Prudentum*, or *Decisions of Lawyers*, who, for the most Part, *had been Magistrates and Judges*. These three made up what was called *Jus Civile* (the *Civil-Law*) under the Common-Wealth; to which was afterwards added, when the *Romans* were plunged in Slavery, the Sort of Law termed *Responsa Principum*, *Decisions of the Princes*. — With these they had two other Kinds; I. *Jus Pontificum*, answering to our *Canon Law*; and II. *Jus Feciale*, which we may translate *The Law of Nations*, exercised by the *Heralds of the State*.

Such was the pristine Severity of the *Romans*, that, like the ancient *Lacedemonians*, they thought Eloquence, and the persuasive Faculty, a dangerous and deceitful Thing. This was so late as *Carneades*, who gave high Offence to the old grave Men of the Senate, by speaking on both Sides of a Question, and raised a violent Itch of Imitation in the Young. They were of Opinion, that, as nothing ought to be so incorrupt as the Vote, or Sentence, of a Judge; it was hard to tell why he who perverted these by Money should be liable to Punishment, whilst he that did it by Eloquence was commanded for his Talent. Nay, they justly thought the Man who biasses a Judge by Persuasion, worse than he who does it by a Bribe; for a good Man is not to be perverted by Gold, — by Persuasion he may*.

* *Cicer. de Rep. Lib. IV.*

High Eloquence must be fed like a Flame. It grows with Fuel, increases with Movement, and brightens the more violently it burns. — The Power of Genius keeps Pace with the Dignity of the Subject; nor can any Man make a noble and elevated Discourse in a mean and trifling Cause. — It was not the Speeches which *Demosthenes* made against his unfaithful Guardian, nor *Cicero's* Defence of *Archias* the Poet, that made either of them be esteemed great Orators. It was *Philip* and *Antony*, who crowned them with Glory.

Ovid says, that the Virtue of Chastity began to decay in *Rome* in the Age of their Great-Grand-Fathers. To what a Pitch of Dissoluteness must they have come during all the Confusions entailed on the State by the Civil Wars! War breaks through all Order, and destroys Decency. While it rages, Men think lightly of Crimes, and Persons of some Character commit Things they would blush at in Times of Peace and good Policy. It now appeared that sound *Manners* are more powerful than penal *Laws*; For though the *Roman* Statute permitting Divorce had always been in Force; *Sp. Curvilius* was the first Man that took Advantage of it, 400 Years after the Foundation of the State. — But in this Age, both Men and Women carried the Abuse of that Statute to the most extravagant Height. They married with a View to divorce, and divorced in Order to marry. Many of these Changes happened within the Year, especially if the Lady had

a large Fortune, which always went with her, and procured her Choice of transient Husbands. The *Law* permitted it, and the *Regard to Decency*, which formerly restrained it, was gone. Can we imagine that the Fair-One, who changed her Husband every Quarter, strictly kept her matrimonial Faith all the three Months? — *Julius Caesar*, among other Excesses, had debauched the Wives of almost all the great Men of his Acquaintance, and was himself repaid in the same Manner by some of his own Minions. *Augustus* and *Antony's* Lewdness exceeded all Bounds; and by the Time the former, in his VI. Consulship, bethought himself of turning *Censor*, and reforming the State, I do not say Modesty, but common Decency, was banished from the *Roman* Manners, and a general Profligacy reigned through the Empire. When such a Taste had gained a general Ascendancy, was it to be expected that Ladies of the highest Rank, and living in other Respects in the greatest Luxury, would all prove Vestals, — would never listen to an artful Lover, nor take a Fancy for a handsome Gentleman?

If we may believe *Catullus*, writing to a Brother-Poet^s, *Julius Caesar*, and his Master of Artillery, *Mamurra*, were the two first notorious Gallants in Rome, and were in the Height of their Debaucheries when *Pompey* was first made Consul. — But in the few Years that intervened between his first and famed second Consulship, the prolific Race, from two, had multiplied to two thousand.

^s Ad *Cinnam*, CX.

From the End of the *Ælian* War, the Profusion and Pains of the *Romans* on their Table. were extravagant and almost inconceivable. — *Lucullus* and *Hortensius* had led the Way; but they were far out-stripped by their Successors. — The Connoisseurs in Eating said it was no Dinner, if, when you were feeding most to your Taste, the Dish was not suddenly taken away, and another, still better, set down in its Place. This was the Proof of Elegance among those who substituted Expense and Dainties instead of Pleasantry, — who say a Man of a fine Palate eats not the whole of any Bird but a *Becca-fico*, — that if any more than the Rumps of either Birds or Poultry be served up, it is a mean, sordid, Entertainment; — That those who eat the Fore-parts of Fowls of any Kind have no Taste: And as for the other Parts of the Service, a Dining-Room was decked out with more Gold, Silver, and Purple, for the Reception of a few Men, than a Temple on a solemn Festival to the immortal Gods.

* *Phavorin.* apud *Aul. Gellium*, Lib. XV. cap. 8.

Fenestella, who lived under *Tiberius*, says that Silver-Ornaments were first put upon a Buffet, or Side-Board, within his Memory. — Also those inlaid with Tortoise-Shells. — Before that, the Buffets were of Wood, Citron, or Maple, round, or square, of no larger Size than the Table. — That first they began to put Knobs of Silver upon the Corners, then they covered all the Jointings, and at last made the whole of solid Silver, adorned with the most sumptuous imbossing and Sculptures.

Luxury was a Consequence of the Loss of their Liberty. Men must be employed; and when excluded from better Business, they take to Trifling. Those who wrested their manly Employments out of their Hands, were generally careful to throw them a few Baubles or Play-Things, with which to amuse themselves like Children. — A Roman, who rose by five in the Morning, threw open his Gate to his Clients at six, minded his and their Affairs till nine, went down to the Forum at ten to attend public Business, then to his martial Exercises in the *Campus Martius* at three, which he continued till he went into the Bath before Supper, or rather Dinner; — Such a Man would be of Consequence, however he applied his Talents in Peace or War. — But if his Son lay a-bed till ten, talked of Plays and Shows and Actresses till Noon, busied himself about his Dress, Equipage, and Appearance in the Theatre, and still more about the elegant Apparatus of his Supper; he would prove a very tame, harmless Animal, and give his Superiors little Trouble. — Nor would he be much more significant, if he thought by Day, and dreamed by Night, of nothing else but making Verses.

L. Crassus, the celebrated Orator, was a Kind of Pattern to Hortensius. — He confessed that a great Part of his Silver-Plate stood him in six thousand Sesterces, (48 l. 15 sh.) the Pound, because of the Workmanship. — He had two Silver-Goblets, engraved by *Mentor*, which he was ashamed to use, they having cost C. Sester (812 l. 10 sh.)

It was not *Cæsar's* Business entirely to suppress the general Humor of high Feasting. It was enough if he appeared moderate himself. His Friends and Favorites, *Mecenas*, *Curtius*, and especially *Vedius Pollio*, might live as wildly as they pleased. — Their Example would influence the young Nobility, who would of Course become effeminate and worthless, and therefore incapable of giving any Disturbance to the Usurpation. For a young Patrician, though of the *Junian*, *Cassian*, or other Tyrant - killing Race, whilst occupied in contriving a Bill of Fare, intent on making Experiments of Sauces, or fitting up an elegant Dining - Room, had no Leisure for the Affairs of his Country. — And a great Part of *Cæsar's* Skill consisted in *turning off* the Attention of the *Romans* from his Conduct and Designs, to amusing Objects of less Consequence. — Shall I do him an Injury, if I ascribe a Part of the Regard he showed to Learning, and to learned Men, to the same Cause? His overflowing Bounty to Poets, — his Condescension to Declaimers, — his Indulgence to Players, Farce - Writers, Epigrammatists, and the meanest Retainers to the Muses. — Nay, his sitting down, and writing with his own Pen, *Exhortations to study Philosophy*, while he was worming the *Romans* out of their Liberty, soothing the People with Shows and Donatives, and cajoling the Senate with fair Speeches and false Honors. — What, I say, can we judge of this Pageantry of Learning, but that it was one of those *Arts* of Government, which

which made him ask on his Death-Bed, Whether he had not well played his Part in the *Farce* of Life?

But whatever his Views were, the Protection and Encouragement he gave to Learning and its Professors carried it to a great Height, and has procured him the better Part of that Reputation, which he still enjoys among Men.

Plato's Observation, upon his settling the Form of Government, that it highly imports Princes to purchase the good Opinion of their contemporary Writers, who can transmit them to Posterity in what Colors they please, was never more verified than in *Cæsar Augustus*. *Italy* and the *Roman Empire*, from the most flourishing populous State before the Civil Wars, was, by the Means of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Cataline* and *Cæsar*, his two bloody Colleagues, and his butchering Self, become a Scene of Horror and Desolation: Its thick-set Towns, swarming with a brave high-spirited People, its wide-spread Colonies, its numberless Villages, its stately Villas, its Vineyards and fertile Fields, were all lying waste and in Monuments of Ruin, without a Possibility of Recovery until they should be repossessed by a free People. — The Sword of *Julius* had passed through the Land: — The inhuman Proscriptions had gleaned up its Leavings; and the insatiate Veterans, having swallowed up Property, were a Dead-Weight on Improvement. — Thus it did, and must in the Nature of Things, continue during a Succession of Tyrants. — Yet so it is, that through

the Charms cast over his Reign by two or three Men of sublime Genius, we speak of the *Augustan Age*, not only as happy in the Purity of Language, which is but a little Circumstance in the Manners of a Nation, but as a Pattern of every Sort of national Felicity; as the flourishing happy Period of the *Roman State*, and the Completion of the Wishes of Mankind.

But instead of admiring the Elegance and Address with which the Men of Wit paid their Court to *Augustus*, it is Matter of Lamentation that such Men should have been under a Necessity of stooping to flatter a flagitious Youth. — Miserable was the Phlight of their Country, when it was *requisite* and *proper* to make such Compliments; and nothing is more ardently to be wished by a *British* Writer, than that it may never be fitting or prudent for him to deify the Prince, who, after murdering our best and greatest Men, should finally strip us of our Liberty.

That *Cæsar* endeavoured to make the Republic flourish, after the *Alexandrian* Conquest, is undoubtedly true; and now that he was become the Master of *Romans*, he had the same Affection for them, as a *West - India* Planter has for his Negroes, whom he wishes to thrive, to behave orderly, and procreate, that they may increase his Property. But it was as much beyond his Power to restore it to its former State, as to put the Head upon the bloody Corse of any of the great Men he had formerly murdered. The sole Measure that could have been any Species of Atone-

ment. "To restore *Liberty to Rome*," when pressed to it by the noble-minded *Agrippa*, he utterly rejected. It is true he preserved a Spectre of it, — a Phantom that walked the Forum yearly, and frequented the Senate in its Shape, till even this Phantom was finally chased away by his Successor. — It is likewise true that he brought a false Splendor, an empty Show of Wealth and Grandeur into the City; and that he and his Family built many a noble Pile, and encouraged others to do the same. — But all his boasted⁷ Marble Structures put together were not worth the Life of one brave Inhabitant of the old brick Buildings, of whom he had massacred Thousands; and far less of the exalted Spirit that animated them, which his Cruelty first helped to break, and his Cunning finally extinguished.

Apicius, a Youth of no mean Genius, and born to a vast Fortune (both which he sacrificed to the meanest of Pleasures, those of the Palate), openly professed the Kitchen-Science, and made good Eating the Business of his Life. He applied himself with as much Assiduity to make Experiments upon Sauces, try Mixtures, and examine Relishes, as ever a Chymist did to fix Mercury, find out the Philosopher's Stone, or produce a vivifying Ointment. All Kinds of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, were brought to him from foreign Parts, and he investigated their Tastes with dis-

⁷ *Lateritiam inveni, marmoream reliqui.*

ferent Sauces, and different Dressing^{*}. When he declared his Opinion of a Dish, it was received as decisive, and sacredly followed by all the polite Eaters of the *Augustan* Age. — *Augustus's* Favorite, *Fabius*, condescended to dine with *Apicius*, after he had been Consul: A Vase of Crystal, then very rare, happened to fall out of his Hand, while he was viewing it, and was broke. The Thoughts of the high Price it bore kept him silent and anxious, in Spite of all the Ease and Gaiety that *Apicius* could put on. — When at last, as if in a Passion, What! *Fabius*, said he, will you spoil our Mirth, because you have done, against your Will, what many of my Slaves, bought with my Money, do through mere Heedlessness? — Cheer up, and take your Part in our Joy, which is of more Value than a hundred Vases. His Luxury will receive a Lustre from the sumptuary Laws even of *Augustus's* making. That Prince, among his other Cares, endeavoured to put a Stop to the *Roman* Profusion in their Eating. By a *Julian* Law, the Expense of an ordinary Family - Dinner was limited to *two hundred HS. 1 l. 12 sh. 6 d.* A Holy-Day's Dinner, *three hundred, 2 l. 8 sh. 9 d.* And a Marriage - Dinner, or any great Entertainment, *a thousand HS. 8 l. 2 sh. 6 d.* which last, as *Rome* grew richer, he found himself ob-

^{*} A Treatise of Sauces, Preserves, and Cookery, is still extant under *Apicius's* Name. *Grævius* quotes it, *Lib. I. § 28. & cod. Lib. § 17. in Notis ad Sueton. Jul. Cæs. § 58.*

liged to double ; and consequently to allow 16l. 5 sh. for the Expence of extraordinary Occasions.

Besides his other Regulations for the Benefit of the State , *Augustus* revived the Law *Cincia* (so called from the Tribune *Cincius* , who first proposed it), by which Lawyers were forbid to receive either Money or Presents from their Clients : with the now farther additional Clause, that whoever violated it should forfeit four Times the Value of what he had received. He likewise forbid Judges from paying any Visits during the Year they were in Office ; enforced the Penalties against Bribery , which was become very prevalent , especially at Elections ; and doubled the Mulct of such Senators as neglected to attend the Meetings of their Body , unless they could show very sufficient Cause for their Absence.

Numbers, particularly among the luxurious and debauched, complained of this too great Severity, as they called it. — To drown their Murmurs, *Augustus* had Recourse to the never-failing Expedient of treating the Multitude with Corn and Shows : — And, indeed, he himself was always fond of theatrical Entertainments. He would spend Hours together, nay, sometimes even whole Days at them, as intent upon what was doing, as the idlest Man that was there. The Dictator *Cæsar* had been blamed for reading his Letters, making Notes, and answering Petitions, during these Representations, the Futility of which could afford no great Satisfaction to a Mind like his. *Augustus* thought it more popular to do like the

Rest of the Spectators'; nor did he disown that the Performances themselves took up most of his Attention. — His Motive for multiplying them was of a more serious Nature. They fed the Curiosity of a restless People, engrossed their Thoughts, and made them forget all Affairs of State, in which they had formerly had so great a Share.

This was the Meaning of a very judicious saying of *Pylades* the Pantomime. *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* were rival Actors, and shared the Favor of the Multitude, who would contend for the superior Excellence of one or the other of them, with as much Warmth as they ever did for *Cæsar* and *Pompey* in the Time of the Republic. They grew proud upon it; and *Pylades* being one Day hissed by a Person of the opposite Faction, pointed him out with his Finger, to show those of his own Party on whom to revenge themselves. He was immediately banished the City and *Italy*; not more for his Misdemeanor, than to humor *Mecenas*, who was particularly fond of *Bathyllus*. He was, however, soon recalled, and when he appeared before *Augustus*¹, the Prince recommended to him to behave better for the future, and not to attempt to make any Parties or Factions. "Cæsar," said the Player, "it is of Service to you, to have the People busied about *Bathyllus* and me." — *Augustus* was sensible of it; and for that Reason was always lavish of every Kind of theatrical

¹ Tacit. Annal. Lib. I. § 54.

² Dio.

Amusements, Plays in *Greek* and *Latin*, Races in the Circus, Combats of Gladiators and Wrestlers, Curiosities from foreign Countries; and he was careful to keep up a Spirit of Emulation, by giving Rewards to the Players or Combatants who distinguished themselves. — *Pylades*, who was the greatest Tragedian of the Age¹, and whose Scholar *Bathyllus* was, first introduced the Pantomime Dances² into *Rome*. His Manner was elaborate, majestic, and affecting. *Bathyllus* was gay and easy.

Several Stories are told of *Bathyllus*, under the Name of *Hylas*. Whether it was his scenical Name, or a Nick-Name given him in Allusion to *Hercules's* Boy, I cannot say: But *Suetonius* tells us³, that *Augustus*, upon a Complaint made against him by the Governor of *Rome*, ordered him to be publicly whipped in the Court of the Palace. This, I judge, must have happened either before *Hylas's* Favor with *Mecenas*, or after the Death of that Minister.

The three most famous Ladies of Pleasure in *Rome* were *Origo*, *Cytheris* or *Lycoris*, and *Arbus-*

¹ *Macrob. Saturnal. Lib. II. c. 7.*

² The ancient Actors used to sing themselves: But *Pylades* first made a Chorus perform the Song, whilst he represented the Passions and Characters (a).

There is a fine Altar, with a very honorable Inscription, to *Pylades's* Memory, published by *Gruter*, p. 1024 of *Grævius's* Edition, or rather *Burman's* after *Grævius's* Death.

(a) *Euseb. Cas. Chronicon.*

³ In Octav. § XLV.

cula. *Lycoris* is *Virgil's* poetic Name for *Cytheris* the *Mima*; for they all belonged to the Stage. — *Arbuscula* happened once to displease the greater Part of the Audience, who hissed; but the Nobility, either able to see no Fault in so beautiful a Creature, or discovering in her Action some Graces too fine for the Vulgar, endeavoured to drown the Hiss by clapping: Upon which she turned to the Audience, and told them, That while she had the Applause of those Boxes, pointing to the Seats where the Knights sat, she valued not all the Rest. — *Marseus* spent his whole Fortune upon *Origo*.

The Romans had the greatest Part of their Artists and Men of Science from *Greece*: But the Ministers of their Pleasures, that is the most effeminated of the *Grecians*, came chiefly from *Asia*. It was the Custom when Slaves were brought over for Sale, to whiten their Feet with Chalk before they were exposed in the Market. In this Plight, *Publius Syrus*, the Founder of the *mimic* Stage (a loose Sort of Farce, representing an amorous Adventure), with his Countryman and Cousin, *Manlius Antiochus*, the Professor of Astrology, and *taberius Eros* the Grammarian, came all over in the same Ship. — These were Men who, through some Desert in Learning, rose above their original Fortune. — But the Romans likewise saw stand in the Slave-Market, with chalky Feet, *Chrysogonus*, the Freed-Man of *Sylla*; *Amphion*, of *Quintus Catullus*; *Hero*, of *L. Lucullus*; *Demetrius*, of *Cn. Pompey*; and *Auge*,

(*Mrs. Bright.*) of *Demetrius*, though it was believed she rather belonged to his Master. — These, with *M. Antony's Hipparchus*, *Sex. Pompey's Menas* and *Menecrates*, and many others, they afterwards saw enriched with the Blood of the *Romans* in the licentious Proscriptions *.

The Theatre and Circus became the Object of the chief Attention, and consequently the great Curse of *Rome*. — Idleness, trifling Amusements, Tumblers, Dancers, Races, wild Beasts, occupied the Minds of those who had been wont to think of Honors, Triumphs, and laborious Virtue. — *Augustus* saw it his Interest to indulge them in these empty Shows, and by their Influence to amuse and enervate a martial People. He obtained his Wish. — In a few Generations, *Panem & Circenses* became their sole Care and Wish. — The Games were the grand Subject of Conversation, of the Attention of the Prince, and Amusement of the People. *Martial's* little Poems addressed to *Domitian* run almost wholly upon the Wonders of his amphitheatrical Shows, with here and there a disingenuous Compliment on his Heroism.

This Corruption of Taste was chiefly owing to the Prosperity of the *Romans*. Their being accustomed to see Triumphs, and all that was greatest and most gorgeous in the World exposed in them, made them delight in the same Kind of Entertainment in their Plays: Nor was this Taste ever more encouraged than immediately before

* *C. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXIV. § 16, 17.*

Horace. — At *Pompey's Games*, the Decorations and Show were so great, that they made the Plays and Poems be but little minded. In the Morning of the first Day, the common *Mimes* ' were represented: The Rest of the Day, a Comedy and a Tragedy, picked out and ordered by *Sp. Mævius*. Old *Æsop*, who had left the Stage many Years, returned and played on this Occasion, in Honor of *Pompey*; but his Voice failed him, so that he was obliged to give over '. Among the Rest *Clytemnestra* was acted, in which about six hundred Mules made Part of the Show; and

' What they were, *Ovid* will inform us very minutely.
 Quid? si scripsissem Mimos, obscena jocantes,
 Qui semper vetiti crimen amoris habent?
 In quibus assidue cultus procedit adulter;
 Verbaque dat stulto callida Nupta viro.
 Nubilis hos Virgo, Matronaque, Virque, Puerque
 Spectat: & è magnâ parte Senatus adest.
 Nec satis incestis temerari Vocibus aures;
 Adfuescunt Oculi multa pudenda pati.
 Cumque fefellit Amans aliqua novitate maritum,
 Plauditur, & magno palma favore datur.
Trist. Lib. II. v. 497.

' This old Gentleman dressed up a Dish of Singing-Birds, which stood him in 4143 l. 10 sh. — He had a Son who did not degenerate. He was left with a great Estate; and meaning to live well, he would try what was the Flavor of a Pearl dissolved in Vinegar: Finding it very delicious, he gave an Entertainment, where every Guest had a Pearl given him, as the finest Draught he could regale them with (a).

(a) *Plin. Lib. IX. c. 35.*

the *Trojan Horse* was accompanied by three thousand *Arceræ* or covered Chariots. After this, all Kind of military Spectacles were exhibited⁷, with Horse and Foot, and Skirmishes between them. Foreign Pieces succeeded, of the *Oscan* and *Greek Drama*, and foreign Shows, such as the Wrestlers and Boxers, which then first appeared in *Rome*. Then two Matches of Hunting, which lasted for five Days, extremely magnificent. In the first, Criminals were exposed to the fiercest Animals; and in the next, Stags and Boars were killed by the most expert Huntsmen in *Rome*. On the last Day, the Elephants were exposed, and gave great Delight to the Mob, but caused Pity and Compassion to others, and raised an Opinion that there was a Kind of Friendship between that Creature and Man.

The Consulship of C. *Furnius* and C. *Junius Silanus*, in the DCCXXXV. Year of *Rome*, was distinguished by the Birth of a second Son to *Agrippa* and *Julia*, who was named *Lucius Augustus*, to whom it was of Consequence to show to the Public Successors destined to inherit his Authority, hastened to adopt his Grand-children, though the eldest could not be more than three Years old, and the youngest was but just born. In this Adoption, he adhered closely to the most solemn Forms of the *Roman Law*, and insisted on their Father *Agrippa's* making over to him, by a Kind of Sale, his Right to the Infants, to whom

⁷ *Sueton.*

he thereupon gave his own Name, in Consequence of which they were called *Caius Cæsar* and *Lucius Cæsar*. — He likewise celebrated this Year the *Secular Games*, recorded in *Horace's* fine Poem on that Subject, and sung by a double Chorus, the one of Boys, and the other of young Girls.

Two Nobles, of very illustrious Names, *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the former of whom was Son-in-Law to *Octavia*, and Grand-Father to the Emperor *Nero*, and the latter related to *Augustus*, being the Son of *Scribonia*, and consequently Half-Brother to *Julia*, were Consuls for the Year DCCXXXVI, in which some hostile Motions of the *Germans* determined *Augustus* to take a Journey into *Gaul*. These Motions were the Beginning of a very important War; the only considerable one, that, properly speaking, happened under *Augustus*: — For, his chastising a few Barbarians, who, merely from their natural Ferocity, sometimes took up Arms, and were speedily quelled, without any remarkable or interesting Incident, scarcely deserves to be noticed even in History: — Much less does it come within the Scope of these *Memoirs*. — *Augustus's* own Maxim, when he read either the *Greek* or the *Latin* Authors, was *, to dwell chiefly on what might be a Lesson or Example to him;

* In evolvendis utriusque linguæ Auctoribus, nihil æquè sectabatur, quàm præcepta & exempla publicè vel privatim salubria.

either in the Administration of public Affairs, or in his own private Conduct. The Rest seemed little worthy his Attention. — Naturally fond of Peace, he made the whole Universe enjoy a happy Tranquillity, by keeping the *Romans* quiet. A plain Proof that *Rome* herself ought to be accused of those perpetual Wars, which, from her very Birth, had, at one Time or other, set her at Enmity with every Nation in the known World. The Ambition of the *Roman* People, and of their Generals, fond of distinguishing themselves by great Exploits, and of meriting triumphal Honors, often provoked them to seek War, where otherwise it would not have been. The Truth of this Observation is confirmed by the long Calm under the succeeding Emperors, who, though widely different from *Augustus* in other Respects, resembled him in his Indifference for Conquests.

Some of those *profound* Politicians who find out *mysterious* Reasons for whatever *Princes* do, imputed *Augustus's* Journey to particular Views, independant of the *German* War. According to them, embarrassed by the Difficulty of making the *Romans* observe the Laws he had just enacted, perplexed by the Murmurs which arose whenever an Attempt was made to put them in Execution with Severity, and ashamed to recede from that Severity in Favor of particular Persons, he resolved to imitate *Solon*, who, after giving a Set of Laws to *Athens*, departed from thence and travelled for ten Years. Others, more *caustic*, assigned him a far less honorable Motive; the Conveniency

of indulging himself in his Amours with *Mecenas's* Wife *Terentia*, his Intimacy with whom was no Secret in *Rome*. His taking her with him, as *Dion Cassius* says he did, was not the Way to silence slanderous Reports.

However, *Mecenas* was of the Journey, and *Agrippa* was ordered into *Syria*, from whence *Tiberius* was returned. *Augustus* was consequently obliged to look out for one in whom he could confide, to govern the City in his Absence. He first pitched upon *Messala*⁹, whose Birth, Virtue, Abilities, and Attachment to the Emperor, rendered him extremely well qualified for that important Trust: — But he, naturally mild, brought up in republican Maxims, and a great Respector of the Laws, did not think himself fit to hold a despotic Authority, which, though nominally civil, was carried on in an almost military Manner¹,

⁹ *Tacit. Annal. Lib. VI. 11. Euseb. Chron.*

¹ The Prefect of *Rome*, or, in other Words, the Governor of the City, (an Office, which, under the Name of *Præfectus Prætorii*, came in its natural Course, to swallow up all the Rest), was, in Reality, a new Office, but erected under the Appellation of an old Magistracy. For the better and more decent Celebration of certain Festivals, particularly those termed the *Latin Games*, a Prefect of the City was appointed, who was the lowest Magistrate that had the Power of calling and holding a Senate (a). But *Cæsar* put all the military Power into his Hand, to suppress Riots, quell Tumults, and seize whom he pleased; — though he gave him only the Name of the old Magistrate.

(a) *M. Varro, ap. A. Gell. Lib. XIV.*

and accordingly resigned it after a few Days. He was succeeded by *Statilius Taurus*, a Man of great Bravery, brought up in Arms, indebted to the new Government for almost all his Fortune, and strictly conformable to the Will of the Prince, who had already conferred on him the Consular Dignity, and Triumphal Honors. *Taurus* possessed this high Office till his Death, and behaved in it entirely to *Augustus's* Satisfaction.

Terentia, who was likewise called *Licinia*, from the Conjunction (I suppose) of the *Licinian* and *Terentian* Families, had all the Accomplishments of Body and Mind fit to raise, and, which is harder, to preserve a tender Passion. She was lovely in her Person, lively and gay in her Temper, with a pretty large Dash of Wildness, and frequent Sallies, which served as Foils to set off her other Charms. — Languid Equality, Sameness of Person, like a Statue, and an unvaried Temper, bordering on Stupidity, are the Bane of a flattering Passion, which consists in a Succession of Desires mixed with a little Inquietude. — I speak of what is, and not of what ought to be: — Of the Manners produced by Wantonness and Luxury; — not by Wisdom and sound Morality. From *these*, a settled mutual Fondness, founded on Esteem, and fed by Virtue, diffuses unruffled Joy throughout the whole of Life. — Gentle Quarrels, soon appeased, — tender Piques, quickly cured, — Caprice, and even a Spice of female Extravagance, not pushed too far, were all necessary to rouse the supine *Mecenas*, and attach him to the wild be.

witching Woman , who sometimes with , and often without Reason , was threatening to leave him , and who often did actually send him a Divorce.

Licinia and *Octavia* were just opposite Characters. *Livia* kept a Sort of political Middle: — Not so capricious as the one , or so strict and stayed as the other. Unblemished in the substantial Part of her own Conduct, she could smile at the Frailties of her male and female Friends. In the first Years of her married Life, one might frequently, like the playful *Villiers* , have gone to seek for a Nurse among her Maids of Honor. With Respect to her Husband , she carried this Complaisance to a high Pitch²: For, if we may believe the scandalous Chronicle of the Times, she could not only indulge her *Cæsar* in a known Amour with *Licinia* , without once repining; but condescended to enter the Lists of Beauty with her, and appear before him in the same Plight as the three Goddesses did to *Paris* on Mount *Ida*.

Augustus was scarcely gone, when some pretended Prodigies happened at *Rome*, on Account of which the Senate ordered public Prayers for his happy Return; — as if his Presence was to have been their Safe-guard even against the Anger of Heaven. However, the Affairs of *Gaul*, and the Disturbances apprehended from the *Germans*, detained him all that Year and the two following.

He had not been long in *Gaul*, when great

² *Uxor facilis. Tacit.*

Complaints were made to him against the Intendant of that Country, one *Licinius*, a Native of the Place, who, from the abject Condition of *Cæsar's* Slave, had obtained his Freedom, and insinuated himself into *Augustus's* Favor so far as to be promoted to this Employment, which rendered the whole Province in a Manner dependent on him. The enormous Power which these Imperial Freed-Men acquired in the Empire, was one of the fatal Consequences of the Change of Government.

This Upstart, still retaining all the groveling Sentiments of his former Station, and intoxicated by a Fortune he was not born to possess, abused most insolently the Power he was intrusted with. He took a malicious Pleasure in humbling and crushing those in whose Presence he would before have trembled, and wearied out the *Gauls* by the most horrid Oppressions. *Dion Cassius* gives us an Instance of his Rapaciousness. — As the Taxes were levied and paid by Months, this Wretch, taking Advantage of the new Names given to two Months of the Year, *July* and *August*, made a Year of fourteen Months, and raised fourteen Assessments instead of twelve.

Augustus was grieved for the unhappy Sufferers, and ashamed that he had employed such a Wretch. Approaching Ruin threatened *Licinius*, and it was thought he could not possibly escape Punishment. But the tyrannical Oppressor had Recourse to an Expedient too often, and too successfully, practised since on similar Occasions. Taking the

Prince into the Place where his Treasure was, and showing him vast Heaps of Money, "Behold," said he, "*Cæsar!* what I have collected for you, " at the Hazard of my Life. I think I have done " you a Service in stripping the *Gauls* of their " Riches, which they cannot now make use of " to rebel against you. Take this Gold and " Silver: — I never designed it for any other " Purpose than to put it into your Hands." *Augustus* was weak enough to be dazzled with the Booty: Interest got the better of Justice; and the Fruit of *Licinius's* Crimes procured his Pardon.

Licinius deserves to have for his Companion a Man like him as to Fortune and Riches, but beyond him in Inhumanity. The famous *P. Veditius Pollio*, originally a Slave, afterwards emancipated and, by Dint of Money, made a *Roman Knight*, carried Luxury to its greatest Height: — But what renders him particularly odious, is his monstrous Cruelty to his Slaves³. He kept Lampreys in a Pond, where he fed them with human Flesh; and the ordinary Punishment inflicted on his Slaves, even for trivial Faults, was to have them thrown, Hands and Legs tied together, into that Pond, to feed those voracious Animals. — Yet this barbarous Wretch was numbered among *Cæsar's* Friends.

One Day that the Emperor dined at his House, a Slave happened to break a Crystal Bowl, and was immediately condemned to be thrown to

³ *Tacit. Annal. Lib. I. 10.*

the Lampreys. The poor Fellow threw himself at *Augustus's* Feet, imploring, not Life, but a less shocking Death *. *Augustus* interceded for him; but such was *Vedius's* Insolence, that he refused the Prince's Request. *Augustus*, thereupon, ordered all the Crystal Vases that were upon the Side-Board to be brought, and himself broke every one of them directly. A Lesson so well timed mortified *Vedius*, and saved the Slave.

Anciently Masters might do with their Slaves what they pleased, and while they were temperate and wise themselves, they used them with Moderation. But when, with the Loss of the Simplicity and primitive Innocence of their Manners, Instances of Cruelty and Barbarity began to break out, it was thought fit to put some Curbs upon their unruly Passions, by retrenching their Power. And first, it was provided by Law, that no Master should be cruel to a Slave, without Cause; that no Violence should be offered to their Chastity; that they should not be refused a competent Subsistence; and a particular Judge was appointed to hear and determine all Complaints of that Nature *. Then it was forbidden to expose them in the Theatre to fight with wild Beasts *. Next, the Power of putting a Slave to Death in any Shape,

* *Seneca*, de Clem. Lib. XVIII. Et de Ira, III. 40.

Dio.

* *Seneca*, de Benef. Lib. III.

* *Modestinus*, L. VI. Regul. L. II. D. ad l. Corn. de Sicar.

or upon any Account, was entirely taken out of the Master's Hands, and lodged in the public Judge⁷; and the famous and merciful *Antoninus Pius* appointed Punishments for Masters who treated their Slaves with uncommon Harshness⁸. But the *Jus Vitæ & Necis*, 'The Power of Life and Death', was still in the Master, under *Augustus*.

Vedius died in the Year of Rome, DCCXXXVII. (*M. Livius Drusus Libo*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso* being Consuls), and made *Augustus* his Heir. Among other Things, he left him the famous Villa called *Paufilype*, near *Naples*; and directed, by his Will, that the Emperor should erect some public Building with Part of his Money. *Augustus* ordered *Vedius's* Town-House to be pulled down, and built, on the Place where it had stood, a noble Portico, which he called, not after the Name of *Vedius*, but of *Livia*. — Ought he to have accepted the Inheritance of a man, whose very Name he endeavoured to bury in Oblivion?

The first Efforts of the *Roman* Power were in very different, and often in very distant, Parts of the World, as the Connexions of their Friends or Enemies led them to carry their Arms to this or the other Country. By this Means it happened that they had made Conquests in the farthest Parts of *France* and *Spain* on the one Hand, and of *Asia* and *Pontus* on the other, and had these Provinces well civilized and embodied into their

⁷ *Spartian. in Adrian.*

⁸ *Caii Instit. Lib. I. Tit. III.*

Empire, before even *Italy* itself was wholly subdued. But the Direction of Affairs coming at last into the Hands of *Augustus*, who had neither the Relish nor Capacity of his Father for great Enterprises, with a *middling economical* Sort of a Spirit, he endeavoured to reduce the Empire to a Standard, and establish a wholesome pacific System; — like a Man regulating a vast, but wide-scattered Estate. — For this Purpose it now became necessary to tame the turbulent Tribes that lay nearest the Capital, and whose Rocks and Sterility had hitherto preserved them from the *Roman Arms*. The principal of these were the *Rheti* and the *Vindelici*, Inhabitants of the Countries now possessed by the *Swiss*, the *Grisons*, and other Mountaineers about the Heads of the *Rhine* and the *Po*. *Augustus* sent his two Sons-in-Law, (if the youngest was so⁹,) *Tiberius*, and *Drusus Neros*, to gather their first Laurels, in this not distant, but very inaccessible Field. — We know what the *Cevennois* performed in the Height of *Lewis XIV*. Grandeur, when they forced that haughty Monarch to enter into a Treaty with a *Baker's Boy*, their Chieftain, a lively alert

⁹ *Drusus*, even at his Birth, was believed to be *Augustus's* own Son. This Opinion continued during his Life, and was confirmed at his Death, by the *Memoirs* of *Drusus's* Life written with the Emperor's own Hand, and by the ardent Affection he bore to his Son *Germanicus*, whom he once intended to adopt for Heir to the Empire, but was persuaded by *Livia*, to let him be adopted by *Tiberius*, and so succeed in Course to the Government.

little Man, with whom I had frequent Conversations in 1735.

The *Rheti*, originally a *Tuscan* People, but settled for some Centuries past in the mountainous Parts of the *Alps*, nearly where the *Grisons* now live, had made Inroads sometimes into *Gaul*, and sometimes into *Italy*. They were extremely fierce and uncivilized. Totally forgetting the Suavity of Manners of the learned Nation of which they were a Colony, they had adopted all that savage Ferocity which an inhospitable Climate, such as that they were transplanted to, naturally inspires; and by their Intercourse with Barbarians, were become Barbarians themselves. In their Incurfions, they destroyed all the Males they found, searching for them even in the Wombs of pregnant Women, while their Priests pretended to tell (by Indications equally cruel and uncertain), whether the unborn Child was Male or Female.

Drusus was ordered to reduce these Barbarians, and gave on this Occasion the first Proofs of his military Talents. — The *Rheti*, repulsed and beat, but not subdued, called in their Neighbours, the *Vindelici*, to their Assistance. The War becoming thus more considerable, and the Danger consequently greater, *Augustus* thought proper to give *Drusus* an Assistant, and accordingly sent to him his elder Brother, *Tiberius*, who was then with him in *Gaul*. The two Brothers separated their Forces, entered the Territories of their Enemies in different Bodies, forced their Castles built

on the Tops of inaccessible Mountains¹, and gave them several Battles, one of which, gained by *Tiberius*, was so decisive, that these intrepid People², fonder of Liberty than of Life, were at last forced to submit. They were driven down into the Plains, where they settled, became quiet and peaceable, and, by Degrees, more civilized. Two Colonies were founded to preserve Tranquillity; *Drusomagus*, (now *Memmingen* in *Suabia*), in the Territory of the *Rheti*, and *Augusta* (*Augsburgh*), in the Country of the *Vindelici*.

In *Gaul*, *Augustus* founded a Colony at *Autun*, then called *Augustodunum*, the same with *Bibraſte*, the Capital of the *Eduans*, who were the oldest Allies the *Romans* had in that Country. This was, probably, his inducement for making it the Seat of Letters, the *Athens* of *Gaul*. He restored its School, and established in it Professors of Eloquence and Literature, in Order to procure to the *Gauls* the only Advantage they then wanted, that of Learning. — Policy might likewise have its Share in this Act of Liberality: — For *Cæſar*, who was himself a Man of Letters, was thoroughly sensible how much Learning contributes to soften the Tempers of Men, to render them more docile and tractable, and more susceptible of due Impressions of Submission and Obedience. His Views succeeded. The *Gauls* acquired the Manners of

¹ — — — *Arces*

Alpibus impositas tremendis.

Hor. Od. Lib. IV. Carm. 14.

² *Devota morti pectora liberæ.*

Id. ibid.

the *Romans* at the same Time as they learnt their Knowledge. They not only remained peaceable, but grew affectionate to the Empire; and to this the School of *Autun* contributed not a little. It flourished three Ages after, under *Constantine* and his Children. — *Julius Sacrovir*, who made a noble Effort to rescue his Countrymen the *Gauls* from the Tyranny of *Tiberius*, and at last put an End to his own Life when he was irretrievably over-powered in the unequal Struggle, found in this City, as *Tacitus* informs us³, the whole Flower of the young *Gallic* Nobility, assembled there to study the fine Arts, and made them Hostages for the Fidelity of their Parents. — This seems to authorize a Tradition, still current in *France*⁴, that, before the *Romans* entered *Gaul*, the *Druids* educated the Youth of that Country at *Autun*, and had a Place of Residence there, upon an Eminence to this Day called *Mont-Dru*, the *Druid's Mount*. — The celebrated Orator *Eumenius*, a Native of *Athens*, was Professor of Eloquence at *Autun*, and bestowed upon repairing and endowing its Academy the whole of his Salary, which was six hundred thousand Sesterces a Year, (4875 l.) as chief Remembrancer, (*Magister Memoriarum*) to the Emperor *Constantius*, about the Middle of the XI. Century.

The Inhabitants of *Cyzicus*, who had been deprived of their Franchises six Years before, were now restored to their former Privileges.

³ *Annal.* Lib. III.

⁴ *Hist. Univers.* T. I. p. 6. & 25.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Augur, Consul for the Year DCCXXXVIII. with *M. Licinius Crassus*, Grandson of the famous *Crassus*, was in the same Situation as many others of the Nobility, impoverished by the civil Wars. Without Parts or Talents to recommend him, he presented himself to *Augustus*, upon the bare Strength of his being descended from an ancient and noble Family, but poor. *Augustus* loaded him with Wealth; and *Lentulus*, who was extremely covetous, managed so that he soon became possessed, or, to speak more properly, was the Keeper of four hundred Millions of Sesterces (3,212,500*l.*) What was very remarkable, is, that he did not think himself much obliged to *Augustus*; but, having a great Opinion of his own Genius for Eloquence, complained that the Emperor had done him more Hurt by taking him from his Studies, than good by his Liberalities: — Though he was so dull and heavy, that, covetous as he was, says *Seneca*, one might sooner have got Money out of him, than Words⁵. His Riches, amassed with the utmost Anxiety, cost him his Life under *Tiberius*⁶.

Some *inauspicious Omen*, as it was called, having happened at the Nomination of the Curule Ediles for this Year, a new Election was ordered, according to Custom; and, which there never had been any Example of before, the very Persons who had been set aside, were re-elected.

⁵ Quum esset avarissimus, nummos citius emittebat, quam verba.

⁶ *Suet. Tib.* § XLIX.

If any one should gravely ask, How it was possible for great and Wise Men to be governed in Matters of Importance, by such silly Accidents as most of these Omens were? I must acknowledge that, *in Speculation*, it is hardly to be accounted for: But if we reflect upon the *Practice* of Men, and take as impartial a View of some *important* Rites solemnly sanctified, and now used, if not among ourselves, at least among some of our Neighbours, as we do of the *Roman* Rats and Owls; I believe the Fact will appear less improbable, I do not say less ridiculous, than many imagine it to be. — I need not instance the *Portuguese* throwing an Image of *St. Anthony* into a Well, when they want Rain. — It is certain, in the first Place, that *Custom*, ancient *national Custom*, has strong Influence, and inclines the greatest Minds, if not in its Favor, at least to treat it with Decency and good Manners. In the next Place, so powerful and transforming a Virtue has that one single Idea of Divinity, Saintship, or *Numenship*, that, join it to the silliest Custom, or most abject Thing on Earth, it changes it in a Moment, fascinates the human Sight, and so metamorphoses the Object or Action, that the real Nature of it is never seen or considered, nor its natural Import, and genuine Tendency, examined. — Though it grovelled before in the Dirt, was odious, childish, or inhuman, it now stands in an awful, venerable Light, is surrounded with Glory and Brightness, being connected with Heaven, and consequently may draw its

Wrath upon us if neglected, or procure its Favor if regarded. How else should it ever have happened that such Men as *Emilius Paulus*, *Tiberius Gracchus*, or the wise and learned *Lelius*, should have been directed in the Exercise of their Magistracies by these Puerilities? They thought them *sacred* Matters.

But in Case any one who may have been attentive to this Part of the *Roman* History should insist, that soon after *Lelius's* Time, nay while he was alive, the *Epicurean* and *Academic* Philosophy had gained some Footing in *Rome*, the one of which taught them to doubt, and the other to deny, the Religion of their Country, and that, in Effect, the next Age produced a Race of Men, who, in their own private Opinions, could not bring themselves to believe either in their *Auspices* or *Auguries*, and yet both taught and practised them, and courted the Dignities to which the Practice and Profession of them were annexed; — *To this*, I have but an odd Sort of Answer to give; — That these Ancients, like a young Gentleman, who said once in a dishonorable Love-Affair, that he had *two Souls*, seem, in religious Matters, to have had *two Understandings*; one for *themselves*, an unruly, self-conceited, opiniative Thing, that can hardly be governed, or persuaded that *two* and *three* make *five*; and another for the *Public*, of the most docile, submissive, complaisant, conforming Temper, imaginable. — If this does not satisfy, I can only subjoin one of their greatest Men's Apology for himself, for not be-

believing a Tittle of all the various Kinds of Divination, either by Haruspices, Augury, Prophecy, Dreams, Lots, Prodigies, or any other Part of that received Doctrine, at the same Time that he had the Direction of it, and was himself a Priest.

In a select Company of the first Men in *Rome*, either for Honor or Learning, the Conversation happened to turn upon the Nature of their Gods, and consequently the Truth of their Religion. They were all of them well skilled in the *Grecian* Philosophy; but, at the same Time, had chosen different *Religions*, that is, opposite *Sects*, according to their several Inclinations. Among them was *C. Velleius*, a great Admirer of the Doctrine of *Epicurus*; *Lucilius Balbus*, a severe Stoic; and the noble and eloquent *Caius Cotta*, who seemed inclined to the old Academy, or a moderate Sort of Scepticism, which permits not its Disciples to affirm any Thing but what they are certain of, and then shows them *that* is but little. *Velleius* run over the *Epicurean* Notions of the Creation of the World, and of Providence, with much Vivacity and Learning; and these Notions were examined, and even a little ridiculed by *Cotta*, as crude inconsistent Schemes contrived by *Epicurus*, only to screen himself from the Odium of not believing there were any Gods at all. Upon this, *Lucilius*, a Man of singular Gravity and Virtue, encouraged by the Laugh at *Epicurus*, undertook to establish the Truth of their Existence; showed their Power and Presence in many Instances both among the *Greeks* and *Ro-*

mans, and demonstrated, as he thought, their Providence in the Government of the World : After which, he requested *Cotta*, whose doubting Academic Principles he was still somewhat afraid of, to consider well what Part he was to take in the Sequel of the Conversation, and to remember both his Station as first Citizen of *Rome*, and his Dignity as High-Priest : *It being*, added he, *wicked and impious to reason against the Existence of the Gods, whether it be done from Conviction, or to show Abilities in managing an Argument.*

Cotta, smiling, answered, That he had all the Regard in the World for his Counsel, and would certainly follow it as far as his Reason would allow : But that he did not rightly comprehend some Points of his Discourse, and therefore begged Leave to propose his Doubts, and to entreat him to remove them : That as to the latter Part of his Advice, “ to remember his Station and Office,” he took the Meaning of it to be, that he, as a *Roman Priest and Citizen*, ought to adopt the Opinions handed down by their religious Ancestors concerning the immortal Gods, and stand up for their Rites, Ceremonies, and Worship. “ Let me, *Lucilius*, said he, assure you, that I hitherto have defended, and always will defend them : — Neither shall the Reasoning of any Man, be he learned or illiterate, ever make me vary from the sacred Model transmitted to us from our Fore-fathers : — For when the Practice of Religion is the Point in Question, I have *T. Coruncanius*, *P. Scipio*, *P. Scævola*,

noble *Romans* and High-Priests, to take my Instructions from, — not from *Cleanthes*, *Chrysogonus*, or *Zeno*, the Heads of the *Grecian* Sects of Philosophy: — And I have the mild *P. Lælius*, the Augur, justly surnamed the *Wise*, to whom I had rather listen in that fine Discourse which he published upon Religion, than to any of the leading Men of the most celebrated Schools. — And to show you my real Opinion concerning our Religion, which comprehends two Parts, *Rites* and *Auspices*, to which may be joined, as a third, the Interpretation of the *Sibylline* Verses, and the Predictions of the Haruspices from Portents and Prodigies at different Times, there is not a single Particle of all the three, which I ever thought was to be neglected or despised. On the contrary, I most firmly believe that our two great Founders, *Romulus* by Auspicy, and *Numa* by appointing our Rites and Sacrifices, laid the Foundations of our State, which could never have risen to the glorious Height it has since attained, without the highest Favor of the immortal Gods. — These, *Lucilius*, are my Sentiments, as a *Roman*, and as a Priest.”

It must be acknowledged that false Religions have been of so great Use to the Founders of States, that few remarkable Establishments of that Kind have been made without their Influence. — But I believe it rarely happens after a State is well settled, when it is governed by wholesome Laws, and able of itself to cope with its Neighbours, that the high Prevalency of the religious

Spirit contributes much to its Tranquillity. A *false* Zeal is the constant Companion of *such* a Spirit; and *that* Zeal must have some proper *Object* upon which to wreak its Fury; — some supposed heavenly Doctrine to introduce, or heretical one to eradicate; — some religious Rite to reform; or, which is much better Business, some godless Crew of Infidels to convert to its peculiar Faith, or else extirpate them from the Face of the Earth. — When deprived of these, its favorite and most natural Objects to vent itself upon, like other Passions it is apt to seek others in their Stead, and rather than be quiet (which is Death to *high* Zeal), it will make the Form or Color of a holy Vestment, the bowing to the East or West, the Crook of a Pastoral Staff, or some such important Point, the Ground-Work of its Operations, and settle such *weighty* Institutions by Fire and Sword.

While the *Roman* State paid a great Regard to the Institutions of *Numa*; and at the same Time did not stoop to the Superstition they produced in weak Minds, it flourished exceedingly, and the Aruspices, the Augurs, and the whole Train of venerable Flamens were of real Service to the Government. While such great and good Men as *Paulus Emilius* and *Mucius Scævola* could prefer a Decree of the *Roman* Senate to an *Egyptian* Revelation, though in high Vogue and supported by many well-believed Miracles, there was little Hazard of their Religion's leading them far astray from the public Good. — But when the ancient

Religion of their Country came to be despised, and foreign uncouth Deities were received and worshipped; — when *Slavery* had entailed *Superstition* (one of the accursed Shoots of that bitter Root), and Superstition came in its Turn to support its baneful Parent; — then every Thing great or valuable was effaced in *Rome*: For a Prince, or governing Assembly, blinded with any Superstition, have their Minds directed to strange unaccountable Measures; their Views are taken off from the plain natural Happiness of a State, depending upon the Numbers of an industrious, frugal, and free People, and are led to odd unnatural Methods of procuring supernatural Blessings. — When an Army is going upon a dangerous Attack, it is not giving an *Agnus Dei* to every Officer, or, had they so many, to every common Soldier, that will gain a Victory, or keep any one of them from being knocked on the Head. The *Armada*, vainly called *invincible*, though loaded with them, became the Sport of the Winds, and the Prey of Sir *Francis Drake*.

We are apt to laugh at the Aruspicy and Augury of the Ancients, as idle and utterly unworthy of People of Sense. — Yet if we observe the Conduct of most Men, we shall find them take very silly Accidents for Predictions, or Omens, Signs and Warnings of Providence, and in Consequence thereof, be as inconsistent in their Actions, as any of those Ancients with whom they find so much Fault. — Might not one of those, whose Religion we now despise, very justly say to us, “Why do

do you, Gentlemen, Believers in *modern* Miracles, refuse Belief to our Gods, or to the *ancient* Miracles recorded; since you have all the Evidence *History* can afford (and what more have you, or can you have for any Thing past,) that these Miracles were really wrought, and that the Oracles and Prophecies uttered from their Shrines, were truly accomplished?" — The only good Answer that occurs to me, is, That if you believe an Oracle given concerning the ordinary Events of human Affairs, you always assist, and frequently yourself bring about the Accomplishment of it. — Had not *Codrus*, the noble Prince who sought Death for his Country, firmly believed the *Pythian* Oracle, he probably would not have been killed: — And if the *Lacedemonians* had not believed the same Oracle, they might probably have carried on the War, after his Death, with greater Success than before. — *Belief*, or Opinion, is the grand Spring of Action. To be able to infuse and model it at Pleasure, is high Authority, and the next Step to absolute Power. No Wonder some of the Ancients made it *The Great Merit* in some of their Religious Mysteries (such as the *Eleusinian*, the *Bandidian*, and others), and the Condition upon which Adepts were to be admitted to participate of their solemn Rites, and be made Partakers of the promised Bliss.

The very rude Ages of Mankind found few Things too hard for their Belief: They could easily be persuaded of any Thing, especially in religious Matters, of which they had formed no

Ideas, and were therefore ready to receive *any* that were offered to them: — Yet *their Belief* is adduced as a good Reason for the *Belief* of Posterity. — But Matters altered as the World polished and grew more knowing; insomuch that I do not remember that any of the later Deifications of Persons well known to have been once mere Men, ever obtained a thorough Credit, or passed with the Gentlemen of the Age. There would be *Believers*, without Doubt: But the Faith did not prove general; and the Worship, if there was any, was the Effect of Compliance with the Laws, prevalent Authority, or Flattery to the Living: — Though even then, the Palm-Shoot which I mentioned before, that sprung from *Augustus's* Altar in *Spain*, showed, as he said pleasantly himself, how rarely they did sacrifice to his *Numen*.

In *Italy*, at this Day, the greatest Number of Prisoners in the *Holy-Office*, (for so they term that last and highest Tool of ecclesiastical Tyranny, the *Inquisition*) are poor, curious, credulous Women, for consulting Astrologers, Magicians, Cunning-Men, &c. to know their Fates. Religion is so little known or thought of in that Country, that it produces no Heretics; and the Holy Office and its *Familiars* would have but little to do, had they not assumed the Cognizance of Witchcraft, Necromancy, Astrology, &c. as incompatible with the Faith and Worship of Christianity.

Whilst *Agrippa* was in the East, where, with his wonted Greatness of Soul and unbiassed Equity,

he protected the *Jews* of *Asia Minor* against the *Greeks*, who hated and harassed them on Account of their Religion; one *Scribonius*, pretending to be the Grandson of *Mithridates*, though it is difficult to conceive how a *Roman* Name should be allied to that Descent, claimed the Kingdom of *Bosphorus* against *Asandres*, who had usurped it from *Pharnaces*. *Asandres*, to color his Usurpation, had married the Daughter of the dethroned Prince, and enjoyed his little Dominions in Peace, till he was upwards of ninety Years old, when, dreading the Consequences of *Scribonius's* Enterprise, he killed himself. *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*, was preparing to attack *Scribonius*, by *Agrippa's* Order: But the *Bosphorans* themselves put an End to the Life of this new Pretender. They then turned their Arms against *Polemon*; upon which *Agrippa* marched to *Sinope*, and by the Terror of his Name, and of the *Roman* Power, soon forced them to submit. *Polemon* married the Widow of *Arfaces*; and *Agrippa*, in Consideration of his Alliance with this Heiress of *Mithridates* and *Pharnaces*, made him King of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*.

Agrippa, persevering in his Plan of complimenting the Prince with all the Honor of his Achievements, sent an Account of this Exploit, not to the Senate, but to *Augustus*, who thereupon directed a Triumph to be decreed him: But, steadfast in his Maxims, he again refused that high Distinction, and his Example became a Precedent equal to a Law. — From this Time the

Roman Generals received only the *Ornaments* of Triumph, that is, the Tunic embroidered with Palms, the purple Robe, likewise embroidered, and the Crown and Sceptre of Gold. The Pomp and Pageantry of a triumphal Procession was reserved for the Emperors and their immediate Descendants.

Tiberius, whose Birth and Services now entitled him to the Consulship, was promoted to that high Office for the Year DCCXXXIX. He had for his Colleague *Varus*, too well known afterwards by his Disaster in *Germany*.

Under these Consuls, *Augustus* returned to *Rome*, leaving *Drusus* in *Gaul* to finish the numbering of the People, and check the Incursions of the *Germans*. He entered the City in the Night, according to his usual Custom, to save himself and others the Trouble of a pompous Ceremonial which had been prepared for his Reception. The next Day, after receiving the Compliments of the People in his Palace, he went to the Capitol, and offered up to *Jupiter* the Laurels with which his Fasces were crowned. From thence he repaired to the Senate, to give an Account, as the old *Roman* Generals used to do, of his Administration in the Province he was come from: Only, as he had got Cold, instead of speaking himself, he made his Questor read a Memorial drawn up by his Order.

In every five or six Years of Liberty, we hear of some Genius shining forth, some noble Youth bursting from among the Crowd, and distingui-

shing himself in the *Forum* or in the Field : Sometimes , as an Orator and Statesman , seeking Fame from the Impeachment of a rich and powerful Criminal ; or , a Leader , returning from unexpected Conquests and surprising Victories. — Thus *Cicero* shone in the Accusation of *Verres* ; and thus *D. Junius Brutus* pushed his Conquests to the Western Ocean.

But *now* , no Dawnings of Merit but were quashed or eluded by a jealous , though coaxing , Usurper. — *Cæsar* must be all in all. — *Cæsar's* Name occupied the Forum and Courts of Justice , whilst his Person and Family engrossed the Thoughts and Tongues of all the Soldiery. Thus the rising Spirits of the young *Romans* were curbed , depressed , and misled , and the Youth who would have proved a Patriot and a Hero in the happy Days of Freedom , now became the finest Dancer , the prettiest Fop , or the most curious Cook in the Empire. — That once awful Power of the Senate , which made the greatest Monarchs tremble on their Thrones , was *now* no more ; and with it sunk the noble Spirit of Emulation which had formerly animated the chief Citizens of the Republic to *merit* a Seat in that august Assembly. The Sons and Grand-Sons of Senators , finding that they *now* succeeded only to an empty Title , stripped of all its former high Prerogatives , either declined being Candidates , or , if chosen , alledged various Pretences to excuse their not attending.

Augustus , whose Plan required the keeping up a *Show* of Dignity in this first Council of the

State, rightly judged that it would be imprudent to suffer the Descendants of ancient and illustrious Families to withdraw, and be succeeded by Upstarts, who would but ill support the Splendor of their exalted Station. He therefore resolved personally to inquire into the Reality of the Motives which made several absent themselves, and to this End passed all the Senators in Review; examining with his own Eyes the Condition of those who pleaded a bad State of Health for their Excuse, and requiring from such as alledged the Want of a sufficient Fortune, a Declaration of what they were worth, attested by Oath, and certified by Witnesses, who were likewise to swear to the Truth of it. To many of these last, he generously made up the Deficiency of Fortune out of his own Purse, if their Wants did not proceed from bad Conduct, and of the former he excused such only as were really infirm.

Publicly professing that the Objects of his greatest Veneration were, next to the Gods⁷, those excellent Men whose Virtues had raised *Rome* from the smallest Beginnings to the highest Pitch of Grandeur, he repaired, or rebuilt, the Monuments destined to transmit their Memories to Posterity; preserving, which was indeed very modest, and extremely popular, not only the old Inscriptions, but also the Names of their original Founders, without even adding his own. He likewise ordered the Statues of all the great *Roman* Commanders to be ranged and consecrated in the two Porticos

⁷ *Suet.* in *Aug.* § XXXI.

of his Forum. This Thought was truly fine, and intended to answer a most noble End: — For he published a Declaration wherein he protested^{*}, That his Design in collecting the Representations of all the great Men that *Rome* had produced, and putting them together in the same Place, was to show the Citizens by what Models he and his Successors were to be judged. *Pompey* was not excepted from this Homage paid to Virtue. *Augustus* did not indeed leave his Statue in the Hall where *Cæsar* had been killed: but he placed it under a Marble Arch, fronting the Theatre which *Pompey* himself had built.

The same Moderation was now conspicuous in all his Actions. — When he recommended his Children to the People, he always added this Condition, *If they deserve it*[°]. He blamed them for instilling Notions of premature Honors into his adopted Son *Caius Cæsar*, who, though but a Child, already showed a great Deal of Pride and Haughtiness. *Tiberius* was reprimanded for placing this young Prince next to him at the Games he gave to celebrate *Augustus*'s Return; and the People were rebuked for rising to salute *Caius*, and flattering him with repeated Acclamations. — In the Senate, he would bear not only to have his Opinion contradicted, but even strongly opposed: Nor would he be angry at being told, as he was on some Occasions, that Senators ought

^{*} Idem, *ibid.*

[°] Idem, § LVI. & *Dio.*

to be at Liberty to speak freely in all Affairs of the Republic ¹.

A false Report having been made to him concerning a *Roman Knight*, *Augustus*, in Consequence thereof, taxed him with having impaired his Fortune: The Knight proved, that, on the contrary, he had added to it ². The Emperor then attacked him on another Score, alledging his Disobedience to the Laws, in being a Bachelor. The Knight answered, that he was married and had three Children; adding. "Another Time, "*Cæsar!* when you would have Informations against honest Men, employ honest Men to procure them." *Augustus* was silent, and sensible he was in the Wrong.

Sifenna, being reproached in full Senate with the bad Conduct of his Wife ³, did not scruple to address himself to *Augustus*, telling him, that it was with his Consent, and by his Advice he married her. The Emperor, naturally hot, was piqued, rose up, and left the Assembly for a few Moments; chusing rather, as he owned afterwards to his Friends, to be guilty of ill Manners, than to run the Hazard of being carried too far by Passion. He was indebted for this Command of Temper to *Athenadore* of *Tarsus*. When that Philosopher, grown old, and weary of the Court, begged to retire to his native Country, there to

¹ *Suet.* in *Aug.* § LIV.

² *Macrob.* Sat. II. 4.

³ *Dio.*

spend the Remainder of his Life, *Augustus* desired he would leave him some useful Advice. "*Cæsar*," said *Athenodore* to him *, "when you find
 " Anger rising within you, repeat the twenty-four
 " Letters of the Alphabet, before you speak or
 " act." *Augustus* thanked the Philosopher for his Advice; and taking him by the Hand, "Stay with me," said he, "I still want your Advice."

Every one knows the famous Story of *Mecenas*, who, seeing him just ready to pass Sentence of Death upon several Persons, and not being able to get up to him, wrote upon his Tablets these two Words, *Surge Carnifex*, "Arise, Executioner!" and threw them to him. *Augustus*, recovering himself at this strong Remonstrance, broke up the Sitting, and departed with a Docility as much to be admired, as the Liberty his Friend had taken. — Naturally hasty, ambitious, cruel, and very variable, he had great Ebbs and Flows both of Health and Temper. His Features and Color would often change, in a Moment, from the smiling Serenity of a Deity, to the pale and haggard Look of a Demon. — And such was his Life; until he finally gave himself up to the Advices of *Athenodore* and *Areius*: For though his Passions took some Sallies after that, they never did great Mischief, and he was in Fact *a changed Man*. His chief Happiness lay in listening to the Counsels, and bearing with the Freedom of his Friends. — Nay, he at last attained that uncommon Pitch of

* *Plut. Apothegm. Aug.*

Wisdom, as to give Way in little Struggles of Wit and Humor, and to allow himself to be *out-done* by the Men of Letters, though of no great Eminence.

Had we known *Augustus* only by the latter Part of his Life, from the Time that this Mildness and Moderation commenced, we certainly could not believe that he had shed Seas of Blood in his Youth, and was then distinguished by his Cruelty amidst the most cruel of Men. This total Change is one of the most extraordinary Events recorded in History. — It is not difficult to find Examples of sweet Tempers and easy Dispositions spoiled by too much good Fortune, and especially by an unlimited Power: But to find bad ones mended by it, is extremely rare. — Can we, even now, think this amazing Alteration sincere, unfeigned, the Effect of a real Love for Virtue? — *Augustus's* cunning artful Temper, his deep Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, would incline one to suspect the outside Show. — But the Ambition of reigning may account for both his Virtues and his Vices. Crimes were necessary to attain the desired End; and he committed them: — That End attained, Virtue became useful to secure the Enjoyment of his Power; and he practised it. If his later Goodness did not render him perfect, it was at least a Benefit to others; and from the Time of his becoming completely Master of the Empire, he may boldly be proposed as a Model and Example to all the Princes of the World.

The Dignity of High - Priest being at last vacant

by the Death of *Lepidus*, who died this Year, *Augustus* added that Title to all his others, and thereby united in himself the sacred, civil, and military Powers⁵. The first Use he made of this new Authority was to take from the People all Aliments of Superstition; fit only to create Uneasinesses and Disturbance. Strict Search was made after all Books of Divination, and pretended Oracles, of which upwards of two thousand, clandestinely handed about, were seized and burnt. Every Man was forbid to keep any Book of this Kind above a certain Number of Days⁶, at the End of which it was to be carried to the City-Pretor, to be examined by the College of Fifteen⁷. The Books of the *Sybils* alone were preserved, and of these only such Parts as were thought

⁵ *Suet.* Aug. § XXXI.

⁶ *Tacit.* Annal. Lib. VI. 12.

⁷ First *two*, then *ten*, and afterwards *fifteen* Persons were appointed to keep and inspect the *Sybilline* Verses: — A State-Trick, like the Augur's College: — Both a Check upon the Rabble, and a Cure for a Panic. — The *Sybilline* Books bought by *Tarquinius Priscus* were consumed, with the Capitol, in the *Vitellian* Sedition. — In the Consulship of *Cn. Octavius*, and *Cn. Scribonius*, Ambassadors were sent through *Greece* and *Italy*, and especially to *Erythræ*, to collect *Sybilline* Verses. They amassed about a thousand; and to add Authority to the new *Canon*, a Report was spread: that, at the Nick of Time, when the Ambassadors were making their Perquisition, *Apollo's* Temple at *Erythræ* was burnt, and in a Corner of the Wall were found the Originals of the three Copies formerly sold to the ancient *Tarquin*.

proper. The Copies of them having been damaged by Age, *Augustus* ordered the Priests who had the keeping of them, to transcribe them with their own Hands, that the profane Vulgar might not be made acquainted with them. The new Copies were locked up by his Order, in gilt Cases, and placed under the Statue of *Apollo*, in that stately Monument of his Magnificence, the Palatine Temple³. — In the same Manner, as their High-Mightinesses the States General keep the *Autographa*, or authentic Manuscript of the Dutch Version of the sacred Scriptures, in a strong Chest in their great Hall, and permit the Deputies from the several Synods of the Clergy of the United Provinces to inspect them for the Solution of their Doubts, on a certain Day once in three Years.

Augustus was always well pleased when he saw the rich Men of *Rome* lay out their Money upon public Works. *L. Balbus* celebrated this Year the Dedication of a Theatre, which he had built at his own Expence, and was called after his

³ This Temple, and the noble Library annexed to it, for which *Augustus* had, as he well deserved, the Compliments of all Men of Learning, must have been finished by the Year 728 at farthest: For the much lamented *Marcellus*, *Octavia's* Son, dedicated there a superb Set of Jewels (*Dactyliothecam*); and he died in 729. — *Augustus* was so fond of this Place, which was contiguous to the Palace, that he frequently assembled the Senators, and convened the Judges of the Courts of Judicature, in the Portico belonging to it.

Name. He received, as an Acknowledgment for it, the Thanks of the People, and, from *Tiberius* who was then Consul, the Honor of giving his Opinion first in the Senate. — Just Estimators of Things will, however, set a greater Value upon another Monument of *Balbus's* Magnificence; a noble Benefaction to his Countrymen the *Spaniards*. — He was originally of *Cadiz*, and built a new City near the old one, which was very small, with an Arsenal upon the Continent, over against the Island upon which that City is situated. — He could not make a more noble Use of the immense Riches, which he and his Uncle had acquired by their Attachment to the Family of the *Cæsars*.

Agrippa, returning from the East, received a fresh Proof of *Augustus's* Affection and Esteem, by being continued in the Tribunician Power for five Years longer. But Death too soon put an End to his growing Honors: — For, being sent directly against the *Pannonians**, who had taken Arms, and having pacified them by his bare Presence, on his Return to *Italy*, he was seized in *Campania* with an acute Disorder, which carried him off at the Age of fifty-one, in the Beginning of the Year DCCXL. for which *M. Valerius Messala Barbatus*, and *T. Sulpicius Quirinius* were Consuls. The Moment *Augustus* was informed of his Illness, he set out from *Rome* to visit him, but learnt his

* The present *Hungary* answers in a great Measure to the ancient *Pannonia*.

Death upon the Road ; so that all he could do for this best and faithfullest of Friends, to whom he owed every Thing, was to honor his Memory with magnificent Obsequies, at which he pronounced the funeral Oration: and as *Agrippa*, whilst living, had been closely united to his Person and Family, he would not suffer his Body, when dead, to be interred in any other Tomb than that which was destined for himself.

Agrippa died with the well-deserved Character of the worthiest Man of his Days, who had used his Interest with *Augustus*, both for his own and the public Good. — He set *Augustus* as far above himself, as *he* was above others by his Virtue and Alliances; and while he exerted all his Wisdom and Bravery to exalt his Prince, he employed the Power and Honors he had received in Return, in doing good to others. His Conduct made his Greatness neither irksome to *Augustus*, nor invidious to the *Romans*. Though he steadily asserted the Rights of his Sovereign, he gained the People by good Offices, and every Kind of Popularity¹. Great in Peace, and great in War; equally illustrious in Battle by Sea or by Land, it was he that conquered *Pompey*, and the Gain of the Battle of *Actium* was chiefly owing to his Skill and Valor. *Gaul*, *Spain*, the East, the Countries bordering on the *Rhine* and *Danube*, always saw him prosperous and triumphant. He wanted only able Historians to give a proper

¹ *Dio*, Lib. LIV.

Account of his Actions. In Peace, ever studying the public Good, he made his Name immortal by Works far beyond what was ever done by a private Man. Qualified to hold the first Rank in a Republic, he held the second under *Augustus*, whose Son-in-Law, Colleague, and intended Successor he became, merely by Dint of his own Merit.

What *Plutarch* says pleasantly of the great *Cato*, that his Misfortunes lay chiefly in the female Part of his Family, was strictly verified in *M. Agrippa*. He had married, chiefly by *Antony's* Interposition, *Atticus's* Daughter *Pomponia*, by whom he had only one Child, *Vipsania*, who was married to *Tiberius*, and became the Mother of *Drusus*, the only Son of that Emperor. His Father-in-Law died on the last Day of *February*, DCCXX, amidst the Preparations for the *Actian* War. The next Year, the Lady was left pretty much alone, while her Husband was acquiring Honor by Sea and Land, and gaining those Victories, which raised the young *Cæsar* to be Lord of the World. However, for her Amusement, she continued the Studies in which she had been carefully educated by her Father, who was one of the most learned and refined Scholars in *Rome*; and, to assist her in reading the Poets and discovering their Beauties, she took the Assistance of a young Man, who had been brought up in her Father's Family, and to whom he had given his Liberty, on Account of his Genius and good Behaviour. The Youth was originally from *Atticus's* well-known

Estate in *Epirus*, though born at his *Tusculan Villa*, and therefore taking, according to Custom, his Patron's adoptive Name, was called *Q. Cecilius* the *Epirote*. The amiable Turn and pretty Spirit of her young Teacher, her own Solitude, and their former Acquaintance, made the Fair-One sometimes turn her Eyes upon other Beauties, than those pointed out in *Homer* or *Sappho*. In short, a greater Affiduity, and longer Lessons than usual, having been observed by the Servants, the Man of Letters was forbid the House, and the Lady either died of Grief and Shame soon after, or was divorced by *Agrippa*, at his Return; for, in a short While, he married *Claudia Marcella*, one of *Octavia's* Daughters, and *Cæsar's* Niece: How she behaved, is not mentioned in History: — I suppose well. After the Death of his Brother-in-Law, *Marcellus*, he was married to *Julia*, the Shame of her Sex. As for *Cecilius* the Teacher, he took Refuge under the Protection of *Cornelius Gallus*, who received him with open Arms, and found him worthy of his Friendship. This very Thing was among the chief Crimes objected to the unfortunate *Gallus* by *Cæsar*: A sure Proof that he was guilty of only very slight ones, when the Protection of a *Literato*, overpowered by a Lady, was the grand Article of the Charge. After *Gallus's* untimely Death, *Cecilius* opened a School for the Roman Youth, and was the first who read public Lectures on *Varius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and the other modern Poets,

Poets, — his Acquaintances, no Doubt, in *Cornelius Gallus's* Family.

By *Julia*, the Daughter of *Augustus*, *Agrippa* had three Sons, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, and *Agrippa*, who, being born after his Father's Death, was for that Reason called *Agrippa Posthumus*; and two Daughters, *Julia*, who followed her Mother's bad Example; and *Agrippina*, married to *Germanicus*, the only one of *Agrippa's* Children who did not fully the Glory of their Father.

The Disposal of *Julia* in Marriage was always Matter of much Deliberation to *Augustus*. — *Antony* said he first promised her, when little more than an Infant, to his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, *Antillus*; and that he afterwards offered her to *Cotyson*, King of the *Getes* or *Goths*, our Forefathers, a powerful *German* Nation, and, to make a double Match, sought the Princess his Sister for his own Wife. — If this be true, it must have happened at the Time of his greatest Distress in the *Sicilian* War, when he was in Danger of being swallowed up by the Conjunction of *Antony* with *Sextus Pompey*, which in Effect drove him to a political Marriage, little more to his Liking, but more honorable, with *Scribonia*, twice a Widow. This *Antony* published in one of his Manifestoes; — I suppose to elude the Objection of his illegal Marriage with *Cleopatra*, who was a Foreigner. — Afterwards she was married to *Marcellus*, when his Chin was scarce covered with Down; and, upon his premature Death, a new Consul-

tation was held to determine who was to be her Husband, which of Course must be the second Person, or Heir apparent of the Empire. — *Cæsar* himself inclined towards the quiet and candid *C. Proculeius*², though of no higher Quality than a *Roman Knight*. He thought him *equal* to the Station, and at the same Time had full Confidence in his Integrity, and no Apprehensions of receiving Trouble in the future Exercise of his Power. But *Mecenas*, with his usual quick Apprehension of the chief Point, showed him that *Agrippa* must be the Man.

Proculeius stood so high in *Augustus's* Esteem, that there were no Honors in *Rome* but he might have aspired to, had that been his Choice. But he preferred Tranquillity and Leisure to all the Charms of Employment and Power. This Disposition might perhaps make him unwilling to think of *Julia*, even though he knew the Emperor's Inclination for that Match; and possibly too, he might be afraid to climb so high, and engage with the Business and Figure which he must have supported in that exalted Station.

Tiberius, who should have understood well, but was no favorable Judge of, *Augustus's* Actions, said that he had looked out for Men of low Quality and averse to Business, lest they should one Day give him Trouble, and become his Rivals. However this might be, *Proculeius* continued in the greatest Favor with the Prince, and in as great public Esteem as the Kind of Life he had

² *Tacit. Annal. Lib. IV. Suet. in Aug. § LXIII.*

chosen would permit, and was certainly one of the finest Gentlemen about *Augustus's* Court — He was with *Augustus* when defeated by *Sextus Pompey*, and was entreated by him to dispatch him during the Pursuit. This was the Person in whom *Cleopatra* was told she might put greater Confidence, than in any of *Cæsar's* Party.

The Death of *Agrippa* raised *Tiberius* a Degree higher, and brought him nearer to *Augustus*, whose Son-in-Law he became in a double Sense. It was not from any Inclination for him, that *Cæsar* was induced to marry him to his Daughter *Julia*, the Widow of *Agrippa*: for he seems to have known him well: — But he wanted a Second, who might ease him of Part of the Load of Government, and particularly of what concerned the Wars with the Barbarians. — *Drusus* had the Care of that against the *Germans*: — But the *Pannonians* had also taken up Arms upon the News of *Agrippa's* Death.

Under these Circumstances³, and the great Youth of his Grand Sons, or Sons by Adoption, *Augustus* was in a Manner forced to pitch upon *Tiberius*, who, on his Side, was fond of his Wife *Vipsania*, then with Child, and well acquainted with *Julia's* dissolute Life, by Advances she had made to him. Ambition, however, got the better of every other Consideration. He repudiated the Wife he loved, to take one who deserved only his Hatred and Contempt, but who paved the Way to Empire for him.

³ *Tacit. Annal. Lib. X. Suet. Tib. § III. VII. XXI.*

Immediately after his Marriage, he was ordered to *Pannonia*, which he easily reduced with the Assistance of the *Scordisci*, a People bordering upon the *Pannonians*, and like them as to their Arms and Manner of fighting. He disarmed the conquered, and sold most of their Youth for Slaves, to be carried into distant Countries. The Senate would have decreed *Tiberius* a Triumph: But *Augustus*, more reserved, granted him only the *Ornaments* of a Triumpher. — According to several Authors quoted by *Suetonius*, *Tiberius* was the first Person to whom this new Kind of Decoration, substituted by the Emperors in Lieu of a real Triumph, was given in Form.

Claudius Tiberius Nero was a Youth of a graceful Figure. He early discovered superior Parts, — not of the flashy Kind; but sagacious, discerning, and full of a Circumspection beyond his Years. These Talents would have raised him, even if he had not been *Livia's* Son: — But with that Birth, they gave him a vast *Eclât*, until he was obscured by the closer Connexions of *Augustus's* own Children. He would have made a great Man under the Republic, and an accomplished Gentleman under proper Restraint. The least Check served to overawe him. — His Nephews, his Mother, the Proneness of the Senate to Slavery, rendered him so bad a Man as he proved to be. — He had in his Veins a Mixture of the Blood of the two noblest Families in *Rome*, and two Families whose Ancestors had been remarkably at Variance.

In the Time of the second *Punic War*, when the *Roman State* was brought to the Brink of Ruin, and *Hannibal* had led his victorious Troops almost to the Gates of the City; his brother *Asdrubal*, a brave and experienced Soldier, crossed the *Alps* with a great Army, and a vast Treasure, not doubting but that their joint Force would carry all before it. The News of his March, and of two *Carthaginian Armies* being at once in *Italy*, with two Sons of *Amilcar* at their Head, one of whom had spilt more *Roman Blood* than any other Commander had ever done, was very terrifying. The two Consuls, *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius*, (who had been at Variance, but, at the Intercession of the Fathers, had sacrificed their Resentments to the public Service, and been openly reconciled), were sent to oppose them, and, if possible, to hinder their Junction. *Claudius Nero* marched against *Hannibal*, who was lying with his veteran Army in the South End of *Italy*, in *Brutium* (now *Abruzzo*); and *M. Livius*, afterwards called *Salinator*, took his Way towards the *Alps* to keep *Asdrubal* in Play. *Claudius*, who was in the Height of Life and Vigor, soon came to Blows with *Hannibal*, and, having attacked him at unawares, drove him into his Camp with considerable Loss, and pressed him so close afterwards, that he was obliged to decamp in the Night, to get out of his Hands. The Consul, however, followed him close for some Days, and kept hard at his Heels, which ever Way he turned, till he thought *Hannibal* was

fully persuaded that his whole Aim was to keep him in View, and, if possible, take him at a Disadvantage. He then executed one of the boldest Designs that could enter into the Heart of Man. He picked out the Flower of his whole Army, to the Number of six thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse and leaving the Rest under the Command of *Q. Catius*, his Lieutenant, to make Head against the dreadful *Hannibal*, as if he himself had still been in the Camp, undertook a terrible March all the Length of *Italy*, to join his Colleague and destroy the Invader. His March was rapid, and it is hard to tell whether the News of it gave more Hope or Fear to his Fellow-Citizens. It looked like Madness to leave a weakened headless Army in the Neighbourhood of *Hannibal*, or to think to deceive him; and should the Enterprize upon which he was going prove abortive, what was there more to oppose the Enemy? The Consul's superior Spirit, and the Alacrity of the Troops, was the only Answer he could stay to make to these Surmises. Marching Night and Day, he at last joined the other Consul, undiscovered by *Asdrubal*, and entered the Camp before it was light. A Council of War was immediately called, and it was proposed that he should take a Day or two to refresh his fatigued Troops, and observe the Manner of the Enemy. But, unable to bear the least Delay, whilst his abandoned Army might be in Danger, *Claudius* advised, nay, begged his Colleague to lead instantly to the Foe. They did so; the Sign of

Battle was given; and when they came up with *Asdrubal*, he was upon his March, having moved before Day, upon a Suspicion that the *Romans* had been re-inforced: But having lost his Way, and wandered by the Banks of the River *Metaurus*, they soon overtook him. *Claudius* then attacked with the Cavalry, and retarded their March. The *Carthaginian* General took a Rising-Ground upon the River-Side, and began to form a Camp, and cast up a Trench. But *M. Livius* coming up soon after with the Legions, he was quickly forced to quit that Work, in Order to range his Elephants and draw up his Men in Order of Battle. The Shock was violent. The Consul *Livius* and *Asdrubal* were opposite to each other, with the veteran Squadrons of both Armies. — The eager *Claudius*, having been beat from the Rising-Ground, called out to his Men, *Was it for this that you made such hasty Marches?* and led them again up the Ascent; but was again repulsed. He then took a few Cohorts, and wheeling round the Foot of the Hill, got behind the Enemy, and attacked their left Wing with such Fury, that the *Roman* Troops left in the Front saw them flying before they had Time to think who had broke them: Then, following his Blow, he advanced where *Asdrubal* and *Livius* were engaged. It was almost Noon, and the Heat excessive, when *Asdrubal's* mixed Army of *Spaniards*, *Genoese*, and *Gauls*, perceived they had an Enemy at their Backs, as well as in their Front. They had maintained an obstinate Fight, were almost exhausted, soon

began to reel, and afterwards fell into disorder, and fled. A dreadful Carnage ensued, especially of the *Gauls*, who were least able to endure the Heat. *Asdrubal* did every Thing in the Power of a gallant Man, and a great Commander, to retrieve the Battle: But when he saw it irrecoverably lost, that he might not survive his Fortune, nor suffer any Thing unworthy of his high Character, he set Spurs to his Horse, and rushed upon a *Roman* Cohort, where he greatly fell, like the Brother of *Hannibal* and the Son of *Amilcar*. Fifty-six thousand Men are said to have fallen with *Asdrubal* — The Consul *Claudius Nero*, having taken off his Head, set out the very Night after the Battle, reached his former Camp in six Days, and threw the Head, an unwelcome Spectacle, into the Trenches of the *Carthaginians*.

When the News of this Victory was first brought to *Rome*, it was so sudden and so glorious, that none could believe it: But many Messengers arriving with the same Accounts, and relating all the Particulars of the Action, their Doubts gave Way, and the City fell into such an Excess of Joy as had never been known. All the Temples were adorned, the Altars loaded with Incense and Victims, and from that Day forth the *Romans* conceived such good Hopes of their Affairs, that they, who but a Moment before had trembled at the bare Name of *Hannibal*, who alone of all their Enemies had ever thrown a Spear within the Walls of *Rome*, seemed now hardly to remember that such a Man was in *Italy*.

Such was the Service which the *Claudian* and *Livian* Families did to *Rome* in the greatest Danger she ever knew. But, some Time after, when these two great Men, who had managed their Consulship with such Unanimity, were chosen *Censors*, they gave Occasion to doubt the Sincerity of their former Reconciliation. They agreed well enough in the greater Part of the censorial Business, such as convening the Senate, inspecting and repairing the public Buildings, farming out the Revenue, and numbering the Citizens: — But, in reviewing the *Roman* Knights, among whom they both were, when they came to the Tribe *Politia*, to which *M. Livius* belonged, and the public Crier hesitated to call the Censor's Name, "Cite," said *Nero*, "*Marcus Livius*;" which being done, he ordered him to sell his Horse; the usual Ignominy to a Knight, who had been once condemned by a Sentence of the *Roman People*. — Whether this Affront proceeded from some Remains of the old Grudge, or from pure censorial Severity, is still doubtful: But when they came to the *Arnian* Tribe, *Livius* ordered *C. Claudius Nero* to sell his Horse, for two Reasons; one, because he had given false Evidence against him at his Trial, when he was condemned; and the other, because he had been insincere in his public Reconciliation with him. — Of a Conjunction of these two Families sprung *Tiberius* and *Drusus Neros*.

It is scarce possible to carry on a Tract of so constant Dissimulation, as that Nature seizes not some tempting Opportunity to break through,

and show the hideous Face unmasked. A Proposal made to *Tiberius* by his Brother, the noble-minded *Drusus Nero*, to take Measures for restoring the Common-Wealth to Liberty, was such an Opportunity. *Drusus* was the Idol of *Augustus*, and of *Rome*. His high Character, acquired by the Reality of those Virtues of which *Tiberius* had only the Appearance, gave Uneasiness to the Dissembler, — nor did he at all relish the Design. He therefore thought it a happy Conjuncture, at once to ruin a Rival and ingratiate himself with the Sovereign. The engrained Traitor broke forth, and he carried the Letter, written to him in full Confidence by his generous Brother, to *Augustus*. — The Prince was then become wise; he had great Experience of Affairs; and consequently great Allowances to make to a high-spirited Youth, without Malice, though dazzled with Patriotism and Hopes of Glory. — He doted on *Drusus*, and could not think of hurting him; so that all that *Tiberius* got by his Perfidy, was to be known void of natural Affection, and capable of any black Deed for Power. — The worst and most detestable of Mankind is a humane-like Traitor, a Villain possessed of the Appearance of Virtue, a Cheat in her Livery, and one able to do the worst of Things by the Trust that follows her amiable Form.

It appears from all *Augustus's* Behaviour toward the two Brothers, that he looked upon *Tiberius* as an Alien, and upon *Drusus* as his own Child.

The Reason he publicly gave for adopting him *, (in the Year DCCLV after the Death of *Lucius* and *Aulus Cæsars*,) though honorable at first View, implies that it was not from personal Affection; and, in his last Will, the Clause which made *Tiberius* his Heir, and gave him the Empire, bears a Complaint of hard Fate, which had snatched his dearest Pledges from him, and forced him to leave his Succession to a Man he could not love, the Son of his fiercest Enemy.

Horace, in his sublime martial Ode †, written by *Augustus's* express Command, celebrates *Drusus's* Victories before those of the elder Brother, and introduces the Praises of the younger with a striking Simile of a young Eagle newly sprung from the Nest, or a Lion's Whelp first entered to Blood, which, if *Drusus* were indeed of the *Claudian* Family, reflects all the Honor upon *Tiberius*, *Livia's* first Husband, and *Cæsar's* implacable Enemy: But if the Suspicions concerning a Commerce between *Cæsar* and *Livia*, before their Marriage, were well-founded, then the high Compliment falls directly and personally on *Augustus*. — It would have been an unpardonable Indiscretion in the Poet, to have let drop a single Syllable that bore the most distant Insinuation of this Kind. — A Mistake we need not fear in *Horace*. All he could do was to give a *Preference*, as if by Chance, — in the Heat of Fancy, to *Drusus*, and leave a *Possibility* of a flattering Application.

* Hoc *Reipublicæ* causâ facio.

† Lib. IV. Carm. 4.

Ancient *Germany*, far more extensive than the present Empire of that Name, was divided from *Gaul* by the *Rhine*; from *Rhetia* and *Pannonia* by the *Danube*; from *Sarmatia*, on the East, by the *Vistula*; and reached as far North as the *Romans* then had any Knowledge of that Part of the Globe; even beyond the Countries since called *Scandinavia*. This immense Tract of Land contained a great Number of different Nations, the chief of which, or of those at least with whom the *Romans* had any Wars worth noticing, were the *Sicambri*, the *Usipii* and *Tencteri*, the *Bructeri*, the *Catti*, the *Cauci*, the *Cherusci*, the *Frisons*, and the *Suevi*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*; the *Nervi*, the *Trevians*, the *Tribocci*, the *Vangions*, the *Nemetians*, the *Ubians*, and the *Batavians*, on this *. — It is remarkable that all these

* The *Sicambri* were no longer beyond the *Rhine* when *Tacitus* wrote (which was about the Year of Rome, DCCCL); nor does that Historian particularize the Situation of the *Usipii*, or of their Associates the *Tencteri*, who were admired for their Cavalry. They were brought up to manage a Horse from their Infancy; it was the Object of their earliest Emulation; nor would they give it over even in their old Age. Among them, Horses were the chief Part of a Child's Inheritance, and belonged of Right, not to the first-born, but to the bravest and best Warrior.

The *Bructeri*, a powerful and warlike Nation bordering upon the *Ems*, were extirpated by their Neighbours the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii*, who took their Place.

The *Catti*, who seem to have been the Ancestors of the present *Hessians*, and to have inhabited the same Country, were disciplined (a), as well as brave. It was

(a) *Alios ad Prælium ire videas, Cattos ad bellum. Tacit. Germ. 30.*

last People thought it a great Honor to be of *German* Origin, and were particularly careful to

an universal Custom among them to let their Beard and Hair grow, with a Vow never to shave till they had killed an Enemy. Some of the bravest of them would also wear an iron Ring, as an Emblem of Chains and Captivity, on the like Condition of not leaving it off, till they had acquired a Right to be delivered from that Badge of Ignominy, by the Death of an Enemy slain in Battle. Their Warriors, thinking it beneath them ever to conceive a Thought that did not relate to War and Arms, had no fixed Habitation, nor gave themselves any Sort of Trouble about cultivating the Land; but went and lived with the first Family they found.

The *Cauci* extended from the *Ems* to the *Elbe*. *Pliny* (b) represents them as the most miserable People that can possibly be imagined. According to him they lived in a low marshy Country, which the Sea threatened every Moment to overflow: they had no Land fit to cultivate, no hunting, nor any domestic Animals; but subsisted wholly by fishing: Their Country, says he, quite naked, did not afford them even Wood; so that they had nothing to make Fire with, but a bituminous Mud, which they used to dry, by squeezing it with their Hands. This was, probably, what we call *Turf*. *Tacitus*, without directly contradicting *Pliny*, gives them a very high Character. He says (c), they were the most illustrious People of *Germany*, powerful and numerous, Lovers of Justice, void of Avarice and Ambition, quiet, peaceable, and friendly to their Neighbours, whom they neither plundered nor annoyed, though superior in Strength, and truly brave when Self-Defence required their entering into Wars, to support which they were equally strong in Horse and Foot. — I cannot make these two widely different Pictures, both drawn by great Masters, suit the same Original, but by

(b) Lib. XVI. c. 2.

(c) Germ. 35.

distinguish themselves from the *Gauls*, in whom the Mildness of the Climate, *Cæsar's* Conquests,

supposing that *Pliny* was acquainted with only the maritime *Cauci*; that is, with the least Part of the Country; and that *Tacitus* speaks of the Inlanders, whose Territories extended a great Way.

The *Cherusci*, a warlike and resolute People, are famous in History for the Achievement of their Countryman and Chief, *Arminius*, that brave Defender of the German Liberty.

The *Frisons* still keep their old Name, and nearly the same Country as formerly.

The *Suevi* held all the Heart of *Germany* from the *Danube* to the *Baltic*. They were an extremely numerous Nation, divided into several People, and each of those People subdivided into several Tribes. *Cæsar* has given a pretty full Description of them, and *Tacitus* a much fuller. I shall mention only two Particulars concerning them. The first is, their Manner of dressing their Hair; a trifling Circumstance, were it not the Characteristic which distinguished the *Suevi* from the other *Germans*; and among the *Suevi* themselves, the Freeman from the Slave. They let their Hair grow very long, plaited it, and then turned it up behind, rolling it round on the Top of the Head. The People of Distinction among them took some Pains to have that Roll and the Plaiting very neat. This was the only Part of Dress they minded; a Part, says *Tacitus* (a), for which they are not to be blamed, as their Design in it was not to appear more amiable to the Women, but more terrible to the Enemy.

The other remarkable Singularity of the *Suevi* is the Worship which some of them, particularly the *Angles*, paid to the *Earth*, which they imagined to be a Goddess, and conceived that she sometimes visited Men, to inquire into the State of their Affairs. — In an Island in the Ocean was a Wood, called the *Chaste Wood*, where was

(a) Germ. 28.

and the *Roman* Customs, introduced by the Victors, had taken off the Edge of that Courage for which they held the *Germans* in very high Esteem.

The Wars between the *Romans* and the *Germans* seem to have begun in the Year 650, du-

kept a Car covered over, and richly ornamented, which the Priest only dared to touch. This Priest made the People believe that he knew, by certain Signs, the Time when the Goddess came to her Sanctuary, and was seated in her Car, which was then drawn about the Country by Heifers, with a great Deal of religious Pomp and Ceremony. Holidays were kept on these Occasions, and Joy and Festivity reigned in every Place the Goddess was pleased to honor with her Presence. All Wars were suspended, every offensive Weapon was carefully locked up, and then only this fierce People could endure Tranquillity and Peace. When the Priest judged that the Goddess began to grow tired of her mortal Company, he conducted her back to the Wood, which was looked upon as her Temple; and then the Car, its Coverings, and the Goddess herself, said they, were washed in an adjacent Lake. This Part of the Ceremony was performed by Slaves, who instantly disappeared; — swallowed up by the Lake. — A cruel Artifice, to conceal the Priest's juggling, and strike the People with a superstitious (b) Dread of the tremendous Object of their Worship, a Sight of which was not to be obtained but by certain Death.

The *Nervi* inhabited what is now the Province of *Hainault*; the *Trevians* occupied the present Circle of *Treves*; *Strasburgh* is the Capital of what was the Country of the *Tribocci*; *Worms* of the *Vangions*; *Spire* of the *Nemetians*; and *Cologne* of the *Ubians*. The *Batavians* lived in an Island down the *Rhine*, of which *Betaw*, or *Betuvia*, is a considerable Part.

(b) Germ. 40.

ring the Consulship of *Cecilius Metellus* and *Papirius Carbo*⁷, when the *Cimbrians* broke into *Gaul*, and attacked the Winter-Quarters of the Legions in that Country. *Tacitus* observes, that when he wrote, which was two hundred Years after this Event, *Germany* had cost the *Romans* an infinite Deal of Blood, and was then very far from being entirely subdued. — Nor indeed was it ever. — On the contrary, it at last became triumphant: For from thence came the *Franks*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, who, after the War had lasted five hundred Years, totally subverted the *Roman Power*, and established on its Ruins most of the Monarchies now subsisting in the finest Parts of *Europe*⁸.

The *Germans*, following the Example of the *Cimbrians*, never gave up their Design of crossing the *Rhine*, and settling in richer and better Countries than their own. With this View, *Ariovistus* first entered *Gaul*, and after him the *Usipii* and *Tencteri*. Their bad Success there, and *Cæsar's* attacking *Germany*, checked them for a While, but could not extinguish the ardent Desire of their Countrymen to get Footing in a less rigorous Climate. *Agrippa* was sent to stop their Incursions; and, like *Cæsar*, the more effectually to keep them within Bounds, by spreading Terror in their own Country, he passed the *Rhine* about the Time of his first Consulship. After that,

⁷ *Tacit. Germ.*

⁸ *Bucher. Belgium Romanum [Eccles. & Civ.]*

that, whilst *Octavius* was at War with *Antony*, *Carinas* conquered the *Suevi*; for which Triumphal Honors were decreed him. Some Years after the Battle of *Actium* *Vinicius* avenged on the *Germans* (but we are not told which of them in particular) the Blood of some *Roman* Traders, whom they had massacred. In the Year of *Rome* 733, *Agrippa* was sent back to *Gaul*, again molested by the Incursions of the *Germans*. He calmed all Things, and probably then permitted the *Ubii* to settle on the left Side of the *Rhine*. These People, formerly protected by *Cæsar* against the *Suevi*, had from that Time taken a Liking to the *Romans*⁹; and *Agrippa* depended so much upon their Fidelity, that he removed them into the Empire, and assigned them the Guard of the *Rhine*, with Orders to hinder the *Germans* from passing it. Their Settlement soon increased, and became a very flourishing *Roman* Colony; long known by the Name of *Cologne*. *Tiberius*¹, who seems to have succeeded *Agrippa*, did nothing memorable at that Time; but the War began to grow serious under *Lollius*, in the Year of *Rome*, 736.

M. Lollius, praised by *Horace*², but with so little of his remarkable Delicacy, that it seems rather a Panegyric written by Command,

⁹ *Tacit. Annal. Lib. XII. & Germ.*

¹ *Suet. Tib. § IX.*

² *Carm. Lib. IV. Od. 9.*

than what the judicious Poet really thought his Due, concealed the greatest Vices³, under the most specious Mask of Virtue, and was much fonder of getting Money, than of doing his Duty. It seems highly probable, that this covetous General attempted to practise unjust Extortions upon some of the People just conquered by *Agrippa*, and on whom this last had doubtless imposed some slight Tribute. *Lollius* sent Centurions beyond the *Rhine*, where, under Pretence of levying that Tribute, they oppressed the People⁴, Enemies to Servitude, to such a Degree, that they seized them and put them to Death. The *Sicambri*, with their faithful Allies the *Usipii* and *Tencteri*, then passed the *Rhine*, ravaged several Places belonging to the *Romans*, and surprised *Lollius*, whose Troops were put to Flight, with more Shame, indeed, than Loss. The Eagle of the fifth Legion remained in the Possession of the Conquerors.

This was the real Cause of *Augustus's* Journey to *Gaul*. — His Presence, and the Preparations which *Lollius* made to retrieve his Honor, soon restored Tranquillity. The Enemies made Peace, and repassed the *Rhine* after giving Hostages; — a weak Tie upon People unused to pay any Regard to the Faith of Treaties. *Augustus* staid near three Years in *Gaul*, and, when he returned to *Rome*, left behind him *Drusus*, who, young as he was, had already given distinguished Proofs of his military Talents, in the *Rhetian War*.

³ *Vell.* II. 97.

⁴ *Dio*, Lib. LIV.

The Emperor's Departure was a Signal to the *Sicambri* to renew their Incursions: — Nor were the *Gauls* quiet. The Quit Rent and Poll-Tax, which *Drusus* was collecting by *Augustus's* Order, made them sensible of their Servitude; and not being yet thoroughly fashioned to the Yoke, they found, in the Assistance of the *Germans*, a strong Inducement to attempt to recover their Liberty. The Ferment seems to have been general all over *Gaul*; but the Revolt broke out only in the two Provinces bordering on the *Rhine*, called by *Augustus* the two *Germanies*.

Drusus soon subdued the rebel Towns; and this first Success adding great Weight to his Authority, and stopping the Progress of the Revolt through the Rest of *Gaul*, he took the Opportunity of a general Festival, to convene an Assembly of the Nation, and endeavour to reconcile them entirely to the Dominion of the *Romans*.

The Occasion of this Festival was the Dedication of a Temple and Altar, which all *Gaul*, before these last Troubles, had been prevailed upon to erect to *Augustus*, and which were then finished. This celebrated Monument, than which few are more remarkable, was built at the Conflux of the *Saône* and *Rhône*, on the very Spot where the Abbey of *Ainai* now stands. Sixty of the Provinces of *Gaul* contributed to the Expence, and set up the same Number of Statues, representing them. It was a solemn Homage paid by all *Gaul* to the *Roman* Empire. — The Assembly convened by *Drusus* answered his Wishes. A Priest

called *C. Julius Vercundaridubius* in the Epitome of *Livy* ⁵, by Birth an *Eduan*, was appointed in Honor of the new God, and annual Games were instituted. With these seemingly unimportant Affairs, *Drusus* knew how to intermix others of a more serious Nature; and managed so well⁶, either by dextrously winning the Affections of the People, or keeping their Chiefs near him by Way of Hostages, that the *Gauls* not only remained quiet, but even supplied him with Necessaries for the *German War*. — He then crossed the *Rhine*, chastised the *Usipii* and *Sicambri* in their own Country. and subdued the *Marcomanni*, a People bordering on the *Main*, in the Country now called the Circle of *Franconia*.

Drusus then resolved to enter *Germany* by Sea; at once to carry the War to the Borders of the *Ems* and *Wefer*, without harassing his Troops by a long and difficult March. He seems to have long conceived this great Design, to facilitate the Execution of which, he made the Canal ⁶ that now communicates from the *Rhine* to the *Iffel*, extending from the Village of *Isleloort* to *Doesburgh*. This Canal received a great Part of the Waters of the right Branch of the *Rhine*, which, by that Means, became much less considerable than before. But at the same Time, *Drusus* opened a third Mouth for that River into the Sea, mentioned

⁵ CXXXVII.

⁶ *Cellarii Geograph. Ant. Lib. II. c. 3.*

by *Pliny* under the Name of *Flevum Ostium* ⁷. — The Face of that Country has been greatly altered since. What is now called the *Zuider-Zee* was then chiefly Land, watered by the *Rhine* joined to the *Iffel*, falling into a Lake called *Flevus*, from whence, disemboguing and becoming a River again, it at last opened into the Sea, probably at the Place now called the *Vlie*, between the Isles of *Vlieland* and *Schelling*. — From thence to the Mouth of the *Ems* is a short Passage.

Having prepared a Fleet upon the *Rhine*, he fell down that River, and passed through his own Canal; from whence coming into the *Iffel*, and following the Route I have described, he was the first *Roman* that entered the *German Ocean*. He subdued, or gained over, the *Frisons*; took Possession of the Isle of *Byrchanis*, now *Borkum*, near the Mouth of the *Ems*; and, ascending that River, conquered the *Brueteri* in a naval Fight. He then visited the *Cauci*, on the right Hand Side of the *Ems*, where he was in great Danger: Being unacquainted with the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea, his Ships, which had come up with the Help of the high Tide, were left dry when the Tide went off. His new Allies the *Frisons* helped him out of that Difficulty.

Before he left the Country, he built a Fort at the Mouth of the *Ems*, on the left Side, opposite the Place where the Town of *Embsen* now stands;

⁷ *La Martiniere*, Dict. Geograph. Art. *Flevo*, *Flevum*, *Flevus*.

and having brought his Fleet and Army safely back, he distributed his Soldiers in Winter-Quarters, and went to *Rome* to receive the Pretorship, with the Applauses justly due to his Exploits in this his first Campaign in *Germany*, which was in the Year DCCXL.

Early the next Spring, he returned to his Army, repassed the *Rhine*, again engaged and defeated the same Enemies as before, built two Forts, in which he left Garrisons, one at the Junction of the Rivers *Lippe* and *Alm*, near *Paderborn*, and the other close to the *Rhine* in the Country of the *Catti*; after which he advanced toward the *Cherusci*, and penetrated to the *Weser*. But the Fear of wanting Provisions, and the Approach of Winter, prevented his passing that River. For these Successes the Senate decreed him the Ornaments of Triumph, the Honor of an Ovation, and the Power of Proconsul when his Year of Pretorship should be expired. — His Troops had given him the Title of *Imperator*, or *victorious General*. But *Augustus* was more tenacious of that Honor than of any other, except the Triumph, which he never granted after *Agrippa's* declining it, two Years before. Perhaps he was apprehensive that this Title might make the Commanders of his Armies apt to forget they were only his Lieutenants, and not Generals in chief. — Whatever Ground there may be for this Conjecture, which seems to be founded on Facts, it is at least certain, that when *Augustus* himself took the Title of *Imperator* for *Tiberius's* Conquest of the *Panno-*

nians, and *Drusus's* Victories in *Germany*, he would not permit either of *them* to assume it.

Drusus's third Campaign in *Germany*, in the ensuing Year, was equally successful. In the fourth, in DCCXLIII. he crossed the *Wefer*, and reached the Borders of the *Elbe*, where, say *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius**, a Phantom appeared to him in the Likeness of a Barbarian Woman, and, with a menacing Voice, said to him, "Rash Man! "Whither does thy inconsiderate Ardor hurry thee? The Fates forbid thy passing this River. "Thy Exploits and thy Life must end here." — It is possible that one of those *German* Prophetesses, as they were called, (of which Number was the famous *Veleda*), might act this Part; or, perhaps, more probable, that the Story was feigned in Order to do Honor to the singular Circumstance of a *Roman* Army's being ready to pass the *Elbe*: — For *Drusus* was certainly a Man of too much Courage and Penetration to be frightened by such a Trick. Either Illness, or Accident, I cannot say which, for the Cause of his Death is differently accounted for, stopt his farther Progress. *Dion Cassius* ascribes it to Illness only. The Epitome of *Livy* says he was killed by a Fall from his Horse; and *Suetonius* informs us², but at the same Time candidly refutes the Report, that *Augustus* did not escape Suspicion of having poisoned him, through Fear of his great Popularity

* Claud. § I.

² Claud. § I. & Tib. § L.

and Republican Spirit, of which he had given a strong Proof in his Letter to *Tiberius*, mentioned before. *Tacitus*, who spares no-body, acquits *Augustus* entirely of all such injurious Suspicions, when he says positively, speaking of *Marcellus's* Death, that *Augustus* never was cruel towards any Part of his Family, or ever caused the Death of any that belonged to him ¹. — Had this Youth been the Son of *Octavius*, like *Marcellus*, his Step-Mother *Livia* would have been suspected to have poisoned him.

As soon as *Augustus*, who was then at *Pavia*, (*Ticinum*) ², heard the News of *Drusus's* Illness, he immediately dispatched *Tiberius*, who was returned from conquering the *Pannonians*, *Dacians*, and *Dalmatians*. It were to be wished, for the Honor of *Tiberius*, that his brotherly Affection had been equal to his extraordinary Diligence on this Occasion: For, with only one Attendant, though he had the *Alps* and *Rhine* to cross, he travelled in a single Day and Night two Hundred Miles, through barbarous Countries, most of which were either open Enemies, or unwilling Allies. *Drusus*, who was still alive, though near his End, collected Strength enough to pay his Brother the Compliment of ordering the Army out to receive him, and to pay him all the Honors due to a Superior in Age and Command. He expired soon after at

¹ In nullius unquam suorum necem duravit (*Augustus*).
Tacit. Annal. Lib. I.

² *Val. Max. Lib. V. c. 5.*

the Age of Thirty, infinitely regretted by the Soldiers, and lamented by every *Roman*.

His Army wanted to bury him in a military Manner in the Encampment where he died, between the *Rhine* and the *Sala*³, but upon *Tiberius*'s showing the Emperor's Orders, Preparations were made to conduct the Body to *Rome*. Centurions carried it on their Shoulders, to the Quarters of the Legions next the *Rhine*; *Tiberius*, on Foot, preceding the funeral Pomp: From thence, advancing towards *Italy*, the Senators and Magistrates of the Towns upon the Road received it at the Entrance of their Territories, and attended it to the next Frontier⁴. *Augustus* himself, in the Depth of Winter, accompanied it from *Pavia* to *Rome*.

Nothing, that Magnificence or real Grief could suggest, was omitted to honor the Hero. Two funeral Orations were pronounced, one by *Tiberius* in the *Forum*, the other by *Augustus* in the *Flaminian Circus*. The Body was carried to the *Campus Martius* by Roman Knights of the greatest Distinction, and Sons of Senators; and after being burnt there, the Ashes were gathered up, and deposited in the *Julian Tomb*. *Augustus* likewise wrote his Epitaph in Verse, and Memoirs of his Life in Prose; but, unfortunately, they are lost.

The Senate decreed every Kind of Honor to his Memory. The Surname of *Germanicus* was given to him, his Children, and Descendants: Statues were ordered to be erected to him in

³ A River which falls into the *Elbe*.

⁴ *Tacit. Annal. Lib. III.*

many Places; with a triumphal Arch of Marble, and Trophies, on the *Appian Way*, and a Monument near the *Rhine*, rendered famous by his Exploits. He seems even to have been deified: For History mentions an Altar raised to him in the Country where he had signalized his Valor⁵.

He married the younger *Antonia*, second Daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*. — They were perhaps the loveliest Pair that ever did Honor to a Country, or adorned a Court. — The finest Figure of a Man, in all *Rome*, was *Drusus Nero*, and the most striking Beauty was the younger *Antonia*. The manly Grace and stately Stature of the Father combined with the Sweetness of the Mother to mix their Charms, and create, in her, the loveliest of Women. But their outward Form, how amiable soever, was far from being their superior Quality. *Drusus* possessed in Reality the Virtues which our Fancies paint in a Hero. His Nature was noble, generous, and magnificent, humane without Reserve, and so fond of well-founded Fame, that, in a Day of Battle, he used to ride fiercely along the Front, to find out and engage the General of the Enemy, that he might carry home the *Opima Spolia*, like *Romulus* and *Marcellus*. — *Antonia* joined to her exquisite Form every Virtue that can adorn a Woman; cautious in admitting, but steady in retaining Friendship; prone to do good Offices; ardent in her Love; and tempering the Severity of her Morals with a Sweetness and Affability which heightened every

⁵ *Tacit. Annal. Lib. II.*

Charm. — I never think of them but with Veneration. — In the Midst of a luxurious Court and dissolute Town, in the Heat of Youth and Height of Strength, it is certain that the young Prince never touched a Woman, but his lovely *Antonia* — And it is as certain, that, after his untimely Death, his inconsolable Consort, though in the Prime of Life, would never listen to a second Lover, nor hear any Proposal of another Marriage. — Full of the Idea of her adored *Drusus*, she shut herself up in the Apartment of her Mother-in-Law *Livia*, remained constantly under her Eye, and never heard the Name of *Drusus* mentioned, without shedding Tears, so long as she lived; though she survived near thirty Years after this woeful Separation. — Amiable and happy Pair! — As you were blessed in your Lives, embalmed be your Memory! — And may every accomplished Couple that tread in your Steps, taste your supreme Felicity! — *Drusus* had, by this best of Women, three Children; *Germanicus*, already mentioned; *Claudius*, who became Emperor; and *Livia*, or *Livilla*, who married her Cousin-German *Drusus*, Son of *Tiberius*. — Besides the Forts upon the *Ems* and *Lippe*, he built above fifty others along the Borders of the *Rhine*⁶; — probably the Beginnings of several of the Towns now in those Parts.

The Affairs of *Germany* being left in an unsettled and uncertain State by the premature Death of *Drusus*, *Tiberius* was ordered thither in the Year

⁶ Flor. IV. 12.

DCCXLIV. for which *C. Asinius Gallus* and *C. Marcius Censorinus* were Consuls), to complete the Work gloriously begun by his Brother. *Augustus* had no one else in his Family, to whom he could intrust a Business of such Importance: — Nor, indeed, could he have chosen a fitter Person; for he was very brave, and piqued himself on being prudent. His instructions seem to have been, rather to pacify Matters, than widen the Breach; to establish Peace and Tranquillity, rather than to make Conquests; — so far as might be consistent with the Rights and Dignity of the *Roman Empire*.

L. Domitius, who, probably, commanded the Army from the Time of *Drusus's* Death till the Arrival of *Tiberius*, had prided himself upon passing the *Elbe*, and carrying the *Roman Arms* into Regions where they had never before penetrated. He gained some Advantages in this Expedition, for which the Ornaments of a Triumph were decreed him*. — But *Augustus*, while he rewarded his Valor, did not approve of his Conduct. — Like a wise Prince, he was more studious how to govern well his vast Dominions, than to enlarge them beyond Measure. He would readily have agreed to make the *Rhine* his Boundary, and thought it no Way advantageous to the *Romans* to go beyond the *Elbe*, lest, by rousing the warlike Nations on the other Side of that River, they should draw upon themselves too great a Number of Enemies.

* *Tacit. Annal. Lib. IV.*

History does not say, whether *Tiberius* fought any Battles on this Occasion, or whether the Terror of his Name and Arms was alone sufficient to reduce the *Germans*, already intimidated by the Losses they had sustained. Certain it is, that he forced Part of the *Suevi* and *Sicambri* to submit, and transported forty thousand of them to this Side of the *Rhine* *. Such was the stubborn Fierceness of these Barbarians, that many of them, especially their Chiefs, not able to endure being so far distant from their native Country, nor the Kind of Captivity they were kept in, chose rather to kill themselves. The *Sicambri*, who had been the principal Cause of renewing the War, seemed quite extinct after this Transmigration; nor did their Name appear again for a long While in the Wars of the *Romans* in *Germany*. — The *Marcomanni*, another very numerous Swarm of *Suevi*, terrified at the Disgrace of their Countrymen, and fearing a like Disaster, left the Neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, and *Main*, and retired into *Bohemia*, under the Conduct of *Maroboduus*. By this means all became calm from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, and acknowledged the *Roman* Laws.

Tiberius, who completed this great Work, received at last, with *Augustus's* Leave, the Title of *Imperator*, the Honors of a Triumph, and a second Consulship. The Triumph, according to the Laws of *Rome*, was due and decreed to *Augustus*, whose Lieutenant only *Tiberius* had been: But he would not accept it, contenting himself

* *Tacit. Annal. Lib. II. Suet. in Aug. § XXI. & in Tib. § IX. Dio.*

with the Title of *Imperator*, which he now took for the fourteenth Time. He indeed made it a Rule not to triumph for Victories, which he had not gained in Person; thinking it ridiculous for any one to claim that transcendant Honor, when merited by the Labors and Danger of another. His Example, in this, was followed by his Successors. Every considerable Advantage, gained by their Lieutenants over an Enemy, gave them a Right to decorate themselves with the Title of *Imperator*; but not to have a Triumph decreed them.

Augustus's Victories over the *Germans* procured him the Honor of enlarging *Rome*; — a Privilege which was allowed to none, but such as had extended the Frontiers of the Empire: And as there was no longer either War or Disturbance in any Part of the vast Dominions of the *Romans*, he had likewise the Glory of closing, for the third Time, the Temple of *Janus*, which remained shut about twelve Years.

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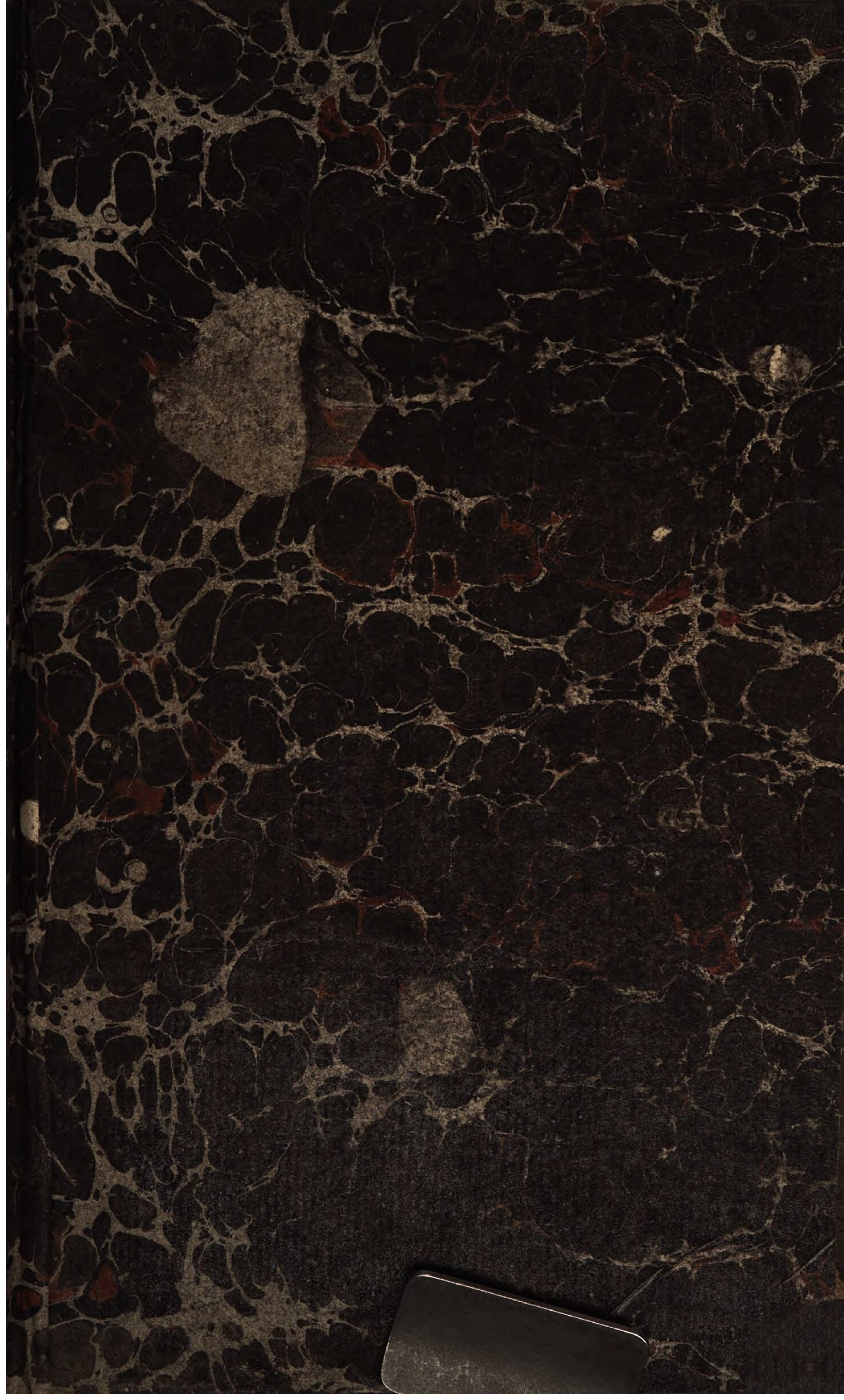
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